BRIEF MEMOIRS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY ADDINGTON'S

ADMINISTRATION,

THROUGH THE FIRST FIFTEEN MONTHS

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT.

1433

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Quorum Pars Magna fuit. VIRG.

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PREFACE.

WHEN from his high office in the adminiſtration of public affairs; an adminiſtration, which had been long continued and ſignally marked; which had been ably conducted and faithfully diſcharged; the right honourable William Pitt had determined to retire by voluntary reſignation; it became His MAJESTY, in that paternal ſolicitude with which He is ever anxious for the welfare of His people, to provide a ſucceſſor in that department of the State. In making His choice on this momentous occaſion, His MAJESTY was to be guided by deliberate and mature conſideration of the peculiar circumſtances then exiſting in the Country. National buſineſs, domeſtic and foreign, was accumulated,

 multifarious,

multifarious, and complex. Parties, in the two houſes of parliament and in the imperial dominions, were widely diſunited by difference of opinions, and were warm in maintaining each its own ſentiments. On the queſtion of "peace," or "war," it was generally ſuppoſed there had not of late prevailed unanimity in the cabinet. The nation, though it ſaw indeed no proſpect of attaining the one, yet it judged the ſeaſon was now arrived for terminating the other, if that meaſure could be effected by a negotiation on moderate and fair terms. In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, it was highly expedient that the new Miniſter, whoever he might be, ſhould be a man of underſtanding, clear and perſpicacious; of information, enlarged and general; of habits, induſtrious and attentive; of diſpoſition, inclined to conciliate; of experience in political concerns and in mankind, collected through many years of accurate obſervation; of inſight into the cauſes and acquaintance with the conduct of the war, complete and perfect; of

principles,

principles, upright and honourable; of attachment to the British conſtitution, tried, unſhaken, ardent, zealous; of reſolution, originating in conviction of what is right, and in determination to follow it ſo far as might be practicable; yet tempered with ſuch prudence as to diſcern where departure from previouſly formed judgment might not only be allowable, but even ſalutary. Such was the Miniſter the times required. His MAJESTY was graciouſly pleaſed to appoint the right honourable Henry Addington Chancellor of the Exchequer and firſt Lord of the Treaſury. So dignified already was the ſituation of Mr. Addington as Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, that he muſt of neceſſity make prodigious ſacrifices to a ſenſe of duty, if he accepted the appointment. Thoſe ſacrifices however he did make; and in the high ſpirit of a man diſpoſed in the hour of danger to ſerve his KING and COUNTRY in any capacity, where his talents could be uſeful, he obeyed the commands of his Sovereign. "The office of prime Miniſter (ſays Sully,

B. 10.) though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with difficulties: and the good fortune of thoſe is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture, when the whole ſtream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular courſe, they have nothing to do but ſit quietly at the helm, and content themſelves with a general inſpection." That Mr. Addington was not called at ſuch a conjuncture, and that his change in official duties was not enviable, are truths which admit not of a queſtion. Whether he has, or has not, proved himſelf a miniſter of that deſcription which the critical æra demanded, every one will be enabled to decide for himſelf, who will patiently and impartially retrace the Months comprehended in theſe MEMOIRS.

With reſpect to the MEMOIRS themſelves, and the nature of them, let thus much be premiſed:

They were begun in the Spring of the year eighteen hundred and one. They are regularly continued from that commencement, to their final

final concluſion. They profeſs nothing more than to regiſter, and that frequently in the very words of the moſt reſpectable public papers, facts of general notoriety and univerſal credit throughout the nation. The circumſtances, however, which they do relate, were all recorded while ſtill recent. The remarks alſo, occaſionally interſperſed, are thoſe, which ſuggeſted themſelves, either at the very times when the ſeveral occurrences ſucceſſively and reſpectively happened; or at periods, which if ſubſequent, were yet not diſtant from them any long interval. In all their parts, therefore, theſe MEMOIRS are contemporary with the perſons concerned, and the affairs tranſacted. On that account, perhaps, they may be ſerviceable to the future hiſtorian.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL * THE TANJORE

MR. ADDINGTON'S

ADMINISTRATION.

1801.

SATURDAY, March 14.—Mr. Addington received the ſeals of office, as chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury.

Monday, March 23.—Mr. Addington took his oaths, and ſeat, in the houſe of commons.

Wedneſday, March 25.—Mr. Addington made his firſt ſpeech "*ex officio*." The queſtion before the houſe was, an "Enquiry into the ſtate of the nation," moved by Mr. Grey; but negatived by a majority of 186 againſt it. Mr. Addington, in a conciſe addreſs to the houſe, intimated the reaſons which had induced him to accept his preſent appointment; the probability there was of ſettling matters with the Northern Powers; his diſpoſition for peace; his love of toleration. The ſpeech was preciſely what it ought to be, on ſuch an occaſion, modeſt, but yet firm; brief, but yet comprehenſive.

Tueſday, April 14.—Mr. Pelham moved for a renewal of the bill, which ſuſpended the *Habeas Corpus* act. The chancellor of the exchequer, in ſupporting the motion, confuted all objections. The bill was read a third time, and paſſed, by a great majority.

Wedneſday, April 15.—An extraordinary gazette announced Lord Nelſon's victory over the Danes, in the baſon of Copenhagen. This enterpriſe, conducted as it was with intrepid boldneſs, calm perſeverance, and diſcerning policy, adds accumulated glory to the name of this commander, who before was rendered ever memorable by the daring, well-concerted, and ſucceſsful battle at the Nile.

On the ſame day, the miniſter moved for the ſedition bills to be renewed.

Thurſday, April 16.—The chancellor of the exchequer made a motion for the thanks of the houſe to Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelſon, and others, concerned in the expedition againſt the Danes. He accompanied his motion with a very impreſſive ſpeech; generouſly commending Prince Ferdinand of Denmark; and declaring, that as the reverſe ſhould not have depreſſed, ſo neither ſhould this ſucceſs immoderately elate his Majeſty's miniſters; but that the victory ſhould

be turned, as it ought to be, to the purpoſes of peace.—This ſpeech gave univerſal ſatisfaction throughout the country.

Wedneſday, May 6.—The chancellor of the exchequer introduced a bill for rendering deacons and prieſts ineligible to parliament. The Clergy in general approved of this bill. Not that they were indifferent to their juſt, ancient, and conſtitutional claim, of being repreſented in parliament by their biſhops; as for centuries they have been, and as every friend to national morals, religion, learning, ſcience, good government, and truly Britiſh conſtitution, hopes for centuries they will be. But they did not think the ſacred miniſtry ſhould either be lightly aſſumed, or lightly relinquiſhed: they did not conceive parliamentary compatible with parochial duties: more particularly they did not wiſh to ſee their Order engaged in the cabals, intrigues, tumults, and inordinate practices, which attend popular elections; and which confeſſedly do not correſpond with the clerical character. The matter was ſeen in this light by the Clergy. By the Public, the chancellor of the exchequer was thought to have acted with liberality and dignity, in not immediately excluding Mr. H. Tooke, the gentleman on whoſe appearance in parliament the queſtion of

eligibility was firſt moved; but rather in placing the abſtract queſtion on broad principles, and making the bill begin its operation with the new parliament, whenever convened.

Monday, May 18.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved an addreſs to his Majeſty, that a monument might be erected in St. Paul's church, to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and of the event "which (ſaid Mr. A.) deprived his country of the ſervices of a man, who never drew his ſword to deſtroy or ſubdue; but to ſave, to reſtore, to eſtabliſh." This gallant veteran cloſed a long life of glory on the 28th of February, in conſequence of a wound, received on the 21ſt, in a moſt ſevere battle fought in Egypt.

Monday, June 29.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved reſolutions on a finance ſtatement; previouſly to which he ſpake with great ability on the condition of our finances, and particularly on the wiſdom and ſalutary effects of the income tax. His idea was, "that with ſteadineſs, fortitude, and prudence, all our difficulties might be ſurmounted." He owned, he could not look at the finances without ſerioufneſs; but he alſo confeſſed, that the more minutely he examined them, the greater was his confidence.

Thurſday, July 2.—By commiſſion, the parliament

ment was prorogued. His Majefty's fpeech, delivered by the lord chancellor, was prudent in choice of topic; moderate in expreffing the end to which our great fucceffes fhould lead, viz.—the attainment of peace; and firm in its confidence that we fhould continue to make neceffary facrifices and exert vigorous efforts, if the enemy's exorbitant demands fhould preclude peace.

Saturday, July 11.—A convention, between Lord St. Helen's on our part, and Count Panin on behalf of Ruffia, was announced by Lord Hawkefbury, in a letter to the Lord Mayor of London.

Monday, Auguft 3.—A gazette extraordinary announced a fplendid and gallant victory gained by Sir James Saumarez, with five fail of the line, againft a combined fleet of France and Spain, confifting of ten fail of the line. The action was near Gibraltar; or at leaft in the Straits.

Sunday, Auguft 23.—A gazette extraordinary announced the capitulation of the French army at Cairo, to General Hutchinfon's forces.

Friday, Sept. 25.—Letters were received from General Hutchinfon. They ftated, that the French army, which embarked for France at Rofetta, after the furrender of Cairo, amounted to 12,700 men.

Thurſday, Oct. 1.—Preliminaries of peace between England and France were, on the evening of this day, ſigned by Lord Hawkeſbury and Mr. Otto.

So unexpected was this intelligence, of an event moſt deeply intereſting and moſt ardently deſired, that it occaſioned univerſally an extravagant and inexpreſſible joy. It was matter of perfect aſtoniſhment that the negociation ſhould have been conducted with ſuch inviolable ſecrecy and unremitting perſeverance; a circumſtance, which reflected the higheſt credit on the honour, addreſs, and attention of government.

Friday, Oct. 2.—Diſpatches were received by Lord Hawkeſbury, forwarded from Lord Elgin at Conſtantinople. They communicated intelligence from General Hutchinſon, that on Auguſt 26, Menou offered to capitulate for the town and forts of Alexandria.

Saturday, Oct. 10.—An extraordinary gazette informed the public, that the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace between his Majeſty and the French Republic, ſigned on the 1ſt inſtant, were on that day (i. e. Oct. 10.) exchanged by Lord Hawkeſbury and Mr. Otto.

Thurſday, October 22.—The capitulation of

Alexandria

Alexandria was publiſhed in a gazette extraordinary.

Thurſday, October 29.—His Majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne. In the houſe of lords, Lord Bolton moved, and Lord Lilford ſeconded; in the houſe of commons, Lord Lovaine moved, and Colonel Wodehouſe ſeconded, the addreſs. Some expreſſions of diſapprobation reſpecting the terms of peace having fallen from Mr. Wyndham, a reply was made by Mr. Addington, who ſtated the impropriety of premature diſcuſſion on the preliminaries; diſclaimed all imputations of neceſſity which compelled the nation to make peace; but aſſerted the adviſing of peace to be a duty owing to their conſtituents, country, and Sovereign. Mr. A. acquitted himſelf admirably in this ſpeech, which he delivered with much ſpirit and energy.

Thurſday, October 29.—By the eſpecial recommendation of the miniſter, the Marquis Cornwallis is nominated as plenipotentiary to negociate the definitive treaty at Amiens. The moſt happy conſequences may be expected to reſult from the appointment of this nobleman; who as he has eminently ſignalized himſelf by the military virtues, which form the conſummate general, ſo he is highly diſtinguiſhed for that experience, judg-

ment, prudence, moderation, firmneſs, and integrity, which conſtitute the accompliſhed ſtateſman. His life has been devoted to public ſervice. If in this, as in many other concerns of vaſt magnitude, he proves ſucceſsful, there will be few perſons to whom the country will owe more gratitude.

Tueſday, Nov. 3.—The preliminaries of the peace were debated. An addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, expreſſing approbation of the preliminaries, was voted; by the lords, on a diviſion, 104 majority againſt 10 minority; by the commons, without a diviſion.

Wedneſday, Nov. 4.—The report of the Committee of addreſs was brought up. The addreſs had been moved by Sir W. Harthup; and ſeconded by Mr. Lee on the preceding day. The miniſter's ſpeech combated the various objections to the preliminaries, with great dexterity and force; and concluded with much animation. The addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

Wedneſday, Nov. 11.—Outſtanding exchequer-bills, to the amount of £. 8,500,000. were propoſed to be funded, according to terms ſettled by the chancellor of the exchequer and a committee of exchequer-bill holders.

Thurſday, Nov. 12.—The chancellor of the exchequer

exchequer moved that "The thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the army of Egypt." He expatiated on the courage, judgment, ſkill, and high qualities, exhibited by thoſe forces, in the moſt animated terms. He ſpoke of the termination of war in theſe words; "The conteſt has now cloſed; the ſword is ſheathed in its ſcabbard; and God grant it may be ſo for ever! But if at any future time it ſhould be neceſſary to draw it again, in order to preſerve the honour, intereſts, and ſecurity of the empire; the zeal, intrepidity, and patriotiſm, which had uniformly characterized the Britiſh ſoldiery, would derive additional animation and ſpirit from a recollection of the glories of the army of Egypt." The motion, which was made in terms moſt impreſſive and affecting, was received with the ſtrongeſt marks of feeling, and with the unanimous approbation of the houſe.

Friday, Nov. 13.—The convention between his Majeſty and the Emperor of Ruſſia was taken into conſideration. It was proved, that the convention had ſecured to this country two points moſt eſſential to our ſafety, viz. that free bottoms do not make free goods; and that neutral bottoms ſhall not carry the goods of the enemy. Secured alſo was the right of ſearch, that main

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ſupport of maritime ſtrength. Both lords and commons voted an addreſs, without a diviſion.

Monday, Nov. 16.—The chancellor of the exchequer, in a long ſpeech abounding with matter of finance, ſtated to the houſe the terms, on which he propoſed funding the eight millions of outſtanding exchequer-bills. Much ability appeared in this ſpeech. The terms of his bargain were confirmed by the houſe, without a diviſion.

Friday, Nov. 20.—In a committee of ſupply, Mr. Addington propoſed the amendment of £. 12,000. for ſecret ſervice money, inſtead of the £. 35,000. which had been voted by a former reſolution. This proof of his attention to œconomy in matters of finance was complimented, as indeed it deſerved to be, by Mr. Elliſon; and Sir John Parnell ſpoke in praiſe of miniſtry.

Monday, Nov. 23.—The chancellor of the exchequer informed the houſe he had employed much pains on examining the expences of the civil liſt for the laſt fifteen years; and that he was happy in ſtating, from his own knowledge, that the utmoſt œconomy had been obſerved, conſiſtent with the nature of the expenditure. He intimated that the civil liſt was now inadequate

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to its exigencies, and that he ſhould ſoon refer to a committee of the houſe, the ſubject of encreaſing it. He lamented the diſtreſs incurred by thoſe, who were entitled to remunerations from that liſt, which however it had not been able to diſcharge.

Tueſday, Nov. 24.—Mr. Addington ſupported a reſolution for opening the diſtilleries. He obviated the objection, which prejudice had made to the meaſure, in its apprehenſion that the reſolution would operate, and had already operated, in ſuch manner, as to raiſe the price of corn. He obſerved, that the diſtillation of wheat was prohibited under ſevere penalties; that the effect of free work in the diſtilleries would be to lower the price of meat, a circumſtance which would more than counterbalance any riſe of corn that could enſue on account of the diſtilleries: he added alſo, that as the diſtilleries in Ireland were opened, the Engliſh dealer would labour under diſadvantages, and an illicit trade in ſpirits would prevail, unleſs the diſtilleries in England were opened alſo.

Wedneſday, Nov. 25.—Mr. Newbolt moved for the ſecond reading of his bill, which was, "For enabling overſeers to relieve the neceſſitous, without compelling them to wear badges," and, "For indemnifying

MAHARAJA

indemnifying thofe overfeers, who had relieved the neceffitous, and had not directed that fuch badges fhould be worn." With equal earneftnefs and humanity, Mr. Addington expreffed his aftonifhment that any objection could be made to the principle of this bill, which was fimply this: "Whether the act of relieving the neceffitous poor fhould fubject the overfeers to penalties, becaufe, in fo doing, they had not affixed the badge of turpitude and fhame, he would not fay to a deed of charity, but of abfolute juftice." He faid, he reflected with exultation and with pleafure on the excellent demeanour of the poor under the moft fevere trials and difficulties: and he wifhed the bill to pafs with the utmoft rapidity, even beyond what the forms of the houfe ufually allow.

On the fame day, in a long fpeech of bufinefs and information refpecting the facility of private trade to the Eaft Indies, Mr. Addington gave Sir W. Pulteney and the houfe to underftand that, to the end of 1803 provifion had been made for fuch facility; and that before 1804 fome plan would be adopted by government and the directors of the Eaft India company.

Friday, Nov. 27.—In farther fupport of Mr. Newbolt's bill, the chancellor of the exchequer begged

begged gentlemen to conſider the queſtion well. "All, who knew the feelings of humanity, muſt be aware of the effects likely to ariſe from a ſenſe of humiliation; the degradation of morals too generally followed. When men felt themſelves depreſſed and ſunk below their proper level, they ſpeedily became bad ſubjects, bad neighbours, bad huſbands, and bad fathers; they abſented themſelves from the houſe of God's worſhip, becauſe they were aſhamed to expoſe their fallen ſtate, to exhibit the badge of poverty. It had therefore ever been the policy of wiſe legiſlatures to cheriſh that independence of mind, which was the ſource and ſupport of every juſt and manly ſentiment. It had been too often the fact, and it was melancholy to obſerve during the late ſcarcity, that the induſtrious poor man, however hard he laboured, unable to purchaſe the apparel he was accuſtomed to wear, ſhrunk from his former connections, and declining his attendance at church, became liable to the extreme of depravity."

Monday, Nov. 30.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that a loan of five millions ſhould be granted his Majeſty, to be raiſed by exchequer bills. He defended the meaſure againſt Mr. Robſon's objection, by ſaying, "that in fact it was nothing more than an iſſue of freſh bills,

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in the place of thoſe which had been funded, according to a late vote of that houſe."

Monday, Dec. 1.—On the ſecond reading of Mr. Alderman Curtis's bill, for repealing the acts of 37th and 38th of his preſent Majeſty, relative to the aſſize of bread; the chancellor of the exchequer ſupported the bill, obſerving, that the mode of regulating the price of bread by the price of meal and flour, however plauſible in theory, had been found diſadvantageous in practice. By the late acts, the baker had no intereſt in beating down the price of the mealman: on the contrary, it was often his intereſt to keep up the price, as his own charge to his cuſtomers would be high in proportion. The preſent bill went to deſtroy ſuch combination between bakers and mealmen, as might keep up the price. It went alſo to take from the magiſtrate the power of fixing the baker's profit. "He would not leave bakers at the will even of the chief magiſtrate of London. The benevolence of his mind, and his tenderneſs for the ſufferings of the multitude, might lead him aſtray; and induce him to fancy there was extortion, when in fact there exiſted none; and to cut ſhort the fair profits of thoſe, who ſupplied the moſt preſſing want of the people. In the late ſcarcity, it was neceſ-

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ſary that the magiſtrate ſhould fix the price, for the ſecurity of the bakers againſt the diſcontent of thoſe, who, without conſidering the cauſe, murmured at the high price which the baker was compelled by the circumſtances of the times to demand for the ſale of his bread: but now, as we were prepared for a more enlarged ſyſtem, he was for a total repeal of the aſſize on bread."

Friday, Dec. 4.—Mr. Nicholas Vanſittart having moved for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the diſtillation of ſpirits in Ireland from wheat only; and Sir J. Parnell (who died on the Monday following!) and Mr. Wilberforce alſo, having expreſſed their wiſh that the prohibition ſhould be extended to the diſtillation of ſpirits from oats likewiſe; the chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, that their arguments operated againſt the diſtilleries from grain altogether. But he had heard nothing, which could *now* juſtify reſtrictions laid on diſtillation from grain, though the circumſtances of ſcarcity in the laſt year might excuſe them. He ſaid, he would not then enter into an enquiry concerning the cauſe of that ſcarcity; but he contended it ſhould not have excited ſo much ſurpriſe, when the encreaſed population of the country which had ſo materially advanced within the laſt twenty years, was conſidered, comparatively

tively with its produce: and when it was alſo recollected, that the diſtractions on the continent had given to this country the monopoly of the trade of Europe; and the chief capital of the empire was encouraged to engage in commerce, and among other articles to ſpeculate in corn. It muſt be taken into account, in addition to theſe cauſes, that this country received ſome acceſſion to its inhabitants by emigrations from the continent. It was impoſſible, therefore, that the produce of the nation could meet this increaſed conſumption of commerce and population. The ſlow effects of agriculture could not accommodate itſelf to a demand ſo ſuddenly created, and which muſt have been materially augmented by the capacity the mechanical claſſes derived, from the advance of their wages, to increaſe their conſumption of proviſions. When even that ſcarcity ſo ſeverely preſſed upon the country, the houſe with reluctance reſorted to the meaſure of bounties; and they acted wiſely, rather to let things go almoſt to extremity, than encourage the people to look to any other reſources than their own agriculture and induſtry; rather to try their patience and fortitude to endure diſtreſs for a ſhort ſeaſon, in order to turn their attention to the means of preventing, and to urge their beſt exertions

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for obviating, if poſſible, the recurrence of ſimilar difficulties in future. The policy of our anceſtors had been to encourage importation of corn by bounties; but our policy was happily that, which, by tending to encreaſe our own reſources, more effectually ſecured us againſt want; and he hoped the country would perſevere in that ſyſtem; for the leſs we were dependent on other nations for our ſupply, the leſs we had to apprehend.

The application intended in theſe reflexions of ſound policy, was obviouſly this; that, as the time of ſcarcity was paſſed, the number of foreigners diminiſhed, the cauſes of encreaſed conſumption much removed, internal agriculture moſt vigorouſly purſued, and the wiſdom of encouraging our own huſbandmen in raiſing due ſupplies of neceſſary corn was now thoroughly underſtood; the uſe of barley in diſtilleries would be leſs detrimental, and conſequently reſtrictions on diſtilleries would be leſs juſtifiable now, than at a late period.

He repeated his arguments uſed on Nov. 24, aſſerting that the riſe on corn, in conſequence of the diſtilleries being open, would bear no proportion to the fall of butcher's meat, which would be occaſioned by the number of

hogs that would be fattened from the diſtilleries. At leaſt 40,000 annually. He again urged gentlemen to conſider the injury, which would be ſuſtained by the Engliſh diſtiller, if diſtilleries were open in Ireland, but ſhut in England; adding, it was not fit to treat with ſo much injuſtice, men of great capital (as the diſtillers were) and who contributed ſo largely to the public revenue; nor was it wiſe to weaken their confidence in the ſteadineſs, candour, and conſiſtency of the legiſlature. Such conduct would be calculated to induce many of them to withdraw their capital from the buſineſs altogether. Nothing but imperious neceſſity ſhould urge the parliament in any caſe to overlook the intereſt of ſuch perſons.

Monday, Dec. 14.—Petitions againſt opening the diſtilleries were taken into conſideration. Mr. Burton, repreſentative of the city of Oxford, ſpoke in ſupport of a petition from that city. The ground of the petition was, an apprehenſion that the price of corn in general would immediately riſe; and indeed that barley had already riſen, in conſequence of the reſolutions which parliament had adopted, for opening the diſtilleries. The chancellor of the exchequer, having firſt corrected a miſtake, into which Mr. Wilber-

 force

force had been led, with regard to the ſmall deficiency occaſioned to the revenue by ſtopping the diſtilleries; and having ſtated that 400,000 *l.* was the actual loſs ſuſtained; he admitted, that the petitions on the table merited conſideration. "The lords of the treaſury had received no leſs than fifty others, to the ſame effect: but what would the houſe think, when he aſſured them, that moſt of thoſe petitions came from places, in which clandeſtine diſtilleries were carried on to a moſt aſtoniſhing effect? In one alone of which, no leſs than ten were recently diſcovered; for the ſuppreſſion of which, the military aid was required to aſſiſt the civil power; both which however, though combined, were ineffectual, as they were reſiſted by a band of more than fifty armed ſmugglers."

He then adverted to what had been ſaid on the riſe of barley, in conſequence of an expectation that the diſtilleries would be opened. By an induction of particulars, among which was this ſtriking fact, viz. that barley on Nov. 2, was higher than on the very day they were then debating about the diſtilleries, he proved that if barley ſhould riſe, yet the cauſe of ſuch advanced price was not to be imputed to opening the diſtilleries. His next argument turned on what

he had remarked in a former debate, viz. that the encreaſed quantity of hogs, which would reduce the price of butcher's meat, would more than countervail any advance of price that could be made on corn, from the operation of diſtilleries.

The queſtion for opening the diſtilleries was carried by a majority of 62.

Monday, Dec. 28.—The chancellor of the exchequer expreſſed his concern, that he was under the neceſſity of moving for only a ſhort adjournment: but he conſoled himſelf by his confidence that gentlemen were perſuaded ſome prudential motives alone induced him to name ſo ſhort a period as Monday, Jan. 4, for their next meeting.

Mr. Thomas Grenville queſtioned the chancellor of the exchequer on the ſailing of a large fleet from Breſt; and expreſſed his fears, that the proceedings in the definitive treaty between this country and France, now pending, would be materially affected by it.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied,—"Whether any communications had paſſed on the ſubject between his Majeſty's miniſters, and the government of France, it was not proper for him to ſtate. Whether due precautions had been taken to guard againſt, what indeed was not likely to happen, but what however there was a

poſſibility that it could happen, the houſe would not then call on him to declare." He aſſured the houſe, the ſailing of that armament would not in the leaſt degree interfere with the negotiations at Amiens, or weaken the energy of lord Cornwallis's language in the neceſſary terms to be propoſed. He intimated alſo, that the ſhortneſs of their adjournment had no more connexion with the Breſt fleet, than the Breſt fleet with their adjournment.

1802.

Saturday, Jan. 2.—The Monthly Agricultural Report ſtated, that grain was ſomewhat on the advance, aſſigning as a reaſon for it, "probably in a great meaſure from the diſtilleries being allowed to work again." Neither the fact, nor the reaſon appear to be accurate. For, whereas on Nov. 2, barley was from 46*s.* to 49*s.*; and on Dec. 14, at 48*s.*; the agricultural report itſelf ſtates it to be at 44*s.* 1*d.* If this report, which is for December, takes the average of that month, it is evident the chancellor of the exchequer argued on good grounds, when he denied that the opening of the diſtilleries would operate to the riſe of barley.

Monday, Jan. 4.—On the ſubject of adjourn-

ment, the chancellor of the exchequer addreſſed the houſe in words to this effect: "On each of the late occaſions, on which I moved an adjournment of the houſe, I felt myſelf impelled by paramount conſiderations, to propoſe an adjournment for a very ſhort and limited period. I have however the ſatisfaction of informing the houſe, that the force of thoſe conſiderations is ſo much diminiſhed, that I am confident I ſhall not have occaſion for reſorting to a ſimilar meaſure, after the day to which it is now my intention to move an adjournment. The reaſon, which induced me to addreſs you on former occaſions, I hope I ſhall never be under the neceſſity of detailing to the houſe. Under this conviction, I move, that the houſe at its riſing do adjourn till Thurſday ſe'n-night; and I feel bold to add, that, on its meeting again, I ſhall be enabled to propoſe an adjournment for the receſs to the extent of time originally intended."

The motion was put, and agreed to.

It is now well known, that the mutiny, which lately broke out in admiral Campbell's ſhip, "the Temeraire," at Bantry Bay, has been the occaſion, which required the ſitting of parliament at this unuſual ſeaſon of the year.

Let us hope this will be the laſt inſtance of jacobiniſm,

jacobinifm, that dire fpirit, which in its principles and practice, goes to the utter extinction of human fociety.

Wednefday, Jan. 6.—The trial of fourteen prifoners, feamen belonging to "the Temeraire," for mutiny, commenced at Portfmouth, on board "the Gladiator." The examination of witneffes continued three days. On the fourth day the prifoners gave in their defence. On the fifth, thirteen were condemned to fuffer death, and one to receive 200 lafhes.

In the courfe of evidence, it was ftated, that admiral Campbell came out and afked captain Eyles "What was the matter?"—The captain told him, the fhip's company wanted to know where the fhip was going? The admiral anfwered, "To hell, if fhe is ordered, and we muft go with her."

It were to be wifhed fome other place had occurred to his mind: but yet we cannot help admiring the fenfe of difcipline and obedience, which the brave and determined commander meant to exprefs and enforce.

Tuefday, Jan. 14.—The houfe met, and the chancellor of the exchequer again moved for a fhort adjournment, having introduced his motion in a

ſhort ſpeech to this effect: "I am perſuaded the houſe will do me the juſtice to admit, that it has been with conſiderable anxiety and concern I have moved ſeveral adjournments, productive of great inconvenience to its members. I am alſo perſuaded the houſe will allow, I muſt have felt extreme difficulty and concern in withholding from it the motives of theſe ſhort adjournments. Upon the ſeveral occaſions on which I propoſed them, I ſtated, there appeared to me ſufficient grounds to warrant ſuch proceeding; but I hoped I ſhould not be called on to detail them. The houſe did not call on me for any explanation, and I am thankful to it for this mark of confidence, and for giving me credit for the motives. The houſe has exerciſed its accuſtomed wiſdom and diſcretion in not preſſing for a diſcloſure of them. Under the circumſtances, which operated on my mind, at the times I propoſed thoſe adjournments, there appeared to me no alternative, as I ſaw nothing to juſtify an oppoſite conduct. Thoſe circumſtances are ſince ſo changed, that I have a doubt on my mind how far they ſhould now produce ſimilar effects: but in my opinion, to doubt, in ſuch a caſe, is to decide. I ſhall be always anxious to have the advantage and aſſiſtance of the wiſdom and deli-

beration

beration of this houſe: but I am convinced ſuch a reference will not be neceſſary upon the ſubject of theſe ſhort adjournments. The bare poſſibility, however, of ſuch an event is, in my mind, ſufficient inducement for making the motion I have prepared. It is, "that this houſe do, at its riſing, adjourn to Tueſday next."

The motion was put, and carried.

On this ſame day, the court-martial re-aſſembled at Portſmouth, and after hearing charges, and defence, declared ſix mutineers guilty; on five of whom was pronounced the ſentence of death; and one was condemned to receive 200 laſhes.

Friday, Jan. 15.—The ſix mutineers, belonging to the Temeraire, on whom the ſentence of death had been paſſed, were executed.

Tueſday, Jan. 19.—Having previouſly ſtated, that the cauſes, which had before induced him to move for ſhort adjournments, were now completely removed; and having expreſſed ſome anxiety, that without the ſlighteſt foundation on any words which had fallen from himſelf, there had nevertheleſs been raiſed an expectation that he would now explain motives, which, though known privately to individuals, ought not in prudence, propriety, and delicacy to be made the ſubjects of formal diſcloſure to the Houſe;

the

the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the houfe fhould, at its rifing, adjourn to Tuefday, February the fecond.

After fome debate, in which Mr. Elliot required from the minifter fome communication refpecting the important fubjects now pending, and in which Dr. Lawrence moved for an adjournment only to Tuefday next; replies having been made by lord Hawkefbury and the attorney general; the minifter's motion was put, and carried without a divifion.

Tuefday, Jan. 19.—The five mutineers of the Temeraire, on whom the fentence of death had been paffed by the court-martial, were executed at Spithead.

It is impoffible not to join in the public prayer, that this may be the laft inftance of a factious and turbulent fpirit, which, by refifting compliance with due fubordination, and by oppofing legitimate and neceffary commands, confounds all regularity, fubverts difcipline, and renders ftrength rather an engine of felf-deftruction, than a power formidable to an enemy. In fuppreffing this fpirit, the miniftry have acted with laudable vigour: and, however painful may be the execution of fo many pitiable and unhappy fufferers, yet this feafonable enforcing of vindictive juftice, has probably pre-

ferved

ſerved the lives of hundreds; ſo that apparent ſeverity, on ſuch an occaſion, is in effect the moſt real and ſubſtantial mercy, as the preſervation of a larger number is an object, in the view of humanity, much more to be regarded, than the merited ſuffering of a number far inferior. Mutiny and rebellion are of a tendency ſo dangerous, that, to prevent contamination, prudence ſuggeſts the inſtantaneous application of the moſt effectual remedy.

Of approved abilities and known patriotiſm was he, who in his ſpeech on the mutiny bill introduced this paſſage:

"Liberty and diſcipline; liberty and government, are much nearer allied, and much more compatible the one with the other (whatever ſome may think) than liberty and licentiouſneſs. Look into hiſtory, and you will find it univerſally true, that the freeſt ſtates have been ſtricteſt in their military diſcipline; and the beſt men in thoſe ſtates have always exacted it with the greateſt ſeverity. Good laws, ſays Machiavel, muſt be maintained by good arms; and good arms by good diſcipline. It is a very juſt maxim, which no government ſhould forget. Late experience has ſhewn us, that if we had not had good arms and good diſcipline, our good laws would have

have been loſt. The maintaining this diſcipline, the not ſuffering it to be relaxed in time of peace, is eſſentially neceſſary to the ſafety of the whole conſtitution; and they who are friends to the one will be friends to the other."—Lord Littleton's Works, ed. 8vo. 1776, vol. iii. p. 27.

Never to be forgotten is the patriotic conduct of Mr. Sheridan, at a ſeaſon, than which the nation has ſeen few more aweful. When the Mutiny at the Nore, in 1797, was become moſt ſeriouſly alarming, he nobly roſe ſuperior to the bigotry and ſelfiſhneſs of party-conſideration; and by his ſpeech on the occaſion, delivered in the houſe of commons, contributed in no ſmall degree to excite deſpair in the minds of thoſe audacious and unparalleled offenders.

On Thurſday Jan. 28.—A colonel in the army was executed at the front of Newgate, purſuant to the ſentence pronounced on him at the Old Bailey. He was there tried for having cauſed the death of a ſerjeant, by ordering 800 laſhes to be inflicted on him with a rope, at Goree, of which iſland the colonel was lieutenant-governor. The fatal puniſhment was inflicted on the ſerjeant ſo far back as the year 1782. The author of it was apprehended in 1784, March 8th, but eluded the vigilance

[library stamp]

vigilance of the King's meſſengers, by eſcaping from them at Reading. He lived in a ſtate of exile from that period till October 1801, at which time he returned to England, and ſurrendered himſelf for trial.

That a perſon high in command ſhould thus ſignally have ſuffered puniſhment by death, ſo immediately after the execution of the mutineers, is a ſtriking occurrence; and in the ſtrongeſt manner ſhews the equality of our national juſtice, and the impartiality of our laws. The unhappy colonel was by marriage connected with peers of the realm. But our laws prohibit violation of rectitude in perſons of ALL deſcriptions, without reſpect either to family or fortune, to rank or authority. Add this is the very eſſence of true liberty in our own or in any conſtitution of civil government, that it ſhould contain in its vital principles, and actually carry into effect in its uniform and daily pactice, " Imperia LEGUM " potentiora quàm hominum," Liv. 2.

Tueſday, Feb. 2d.—According to the time appointed at the laſt adjournment, the imperial parliament met again this day. To ſome inquiries made by Mr. Canning, reſpecting the ſale of crown lands in the Caribbee Iſlands, and

the application of the purchaſe-money thence ariſing, to the liquidation of the civil-liſt arrears, as had been propoſed:

The chancellor of the Exchequer replied, his idea of ſelling crown lands, for the purpoſe of liquidating civil-liſt arrears, was not confined to the Caribbee Iſlands.

Friday, Feb. 5.—The chancellor of the Exchequer having cauſed printed ſtatements to be previouſly diſperſed among the members of the houſe, referred to thoſe ſtatements, when he obſerved, the houſe was in poſſeſſion of the manner, in which the ſum of £.2,500,000, granted laſt ſeſſion for the extraordinaries of the army, had been employed; and alſo was made acquainted with the particular ſervices, on which £,2,000,000, raiſed in purſuance of a vote of credit, had been expended. In addition to theſe accounts, his Majeſty had thought proper to lay before the houſe an account of the exceſs for extraordinaries of the army. He explained the cauſes of ſuch exceſs; among which, the protraction of the war in Egypt beyond the expectation of the moſt experienced perſons, was a principal cauſe; ſince no leſs a ſum than £.1,540,000 had been drawn for on that account, during the ſpring, ſummer, and autumn of the laſt year. He intimated alſo,

That

That the bills drawn on account of the Weſt Indies, exceeded what had been calculated ſufficient for the Weſt India ſervice, by the ſum of £.500.000; an exceſs ſo very conſiderable, that commiſſioners were going out to that quarter, for the purpoſe of viſiting every iſland, and of minutely inveſtigating the ſeveral accounts, and the facts on which they were founded. He next ſtated the amount of the navy debt, and gave the reaſons for its large amount. He ſaid it was impoſſible, under the preſent circumſtances, to aſcertain how far it would be prudent to diminiſh that debt. He propoſed, however, a vote for £.2,000,000 for that purpoſe; and another vote for £.1,847,174, to defray the expences of the army incurred and paid by the pay-maſter general of the forces in the year 1801.

Mr. Robſon having made ſome remarks, and received anſwers, aſſured the committee he was perfectly ſatisfied, with the fairneſs and candid replies of miniſters.

Monday, Feb. 8.—Mr. Martin animadverted on the ſtatements of expenditure diſtributed on the preceding Friday. He was anſwered by Mr. Tierney, who ſaid, " The ſucceſſor of the late miniſter was, for his conduct, entitled to confidence, and his character was reſpected by the

country.

country. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Addington) had done nothing to juſtify the ſlighteſt jealouſy. The paper, which had been the ſubject of animadverſion, had been very ſatisfactorily explained."

Mr. Nicholls followed Mr. Tierney. He ſaid, "The preſent chancellor of the exchequer was not reſponſible for the various expences produced by the late war. That he conſidered him as the miniſter of a pacific ſyſtem, and had obſerved no one meaſure of his that merited reprehenſion."

The chancellor of the exchequer ſtated, that previouſly to raiſing the ſums neceſſary for the ſupplies of the year, it was incumbent to vote a ſum for ſatisfying the immediate demands of the public ſervice. He therefore moved, "That the ſum of 2,100,000l. be raiſed by way of loan on exchequer bills."

Tueſday, Feb. 9.—This day was vacated, by the judicious and merited promotion of Sir John Mitford to the high dignity of lord chancellor of Ireland, the ſpeaker's chair of the houſe of commons: that chair, which for twelve years Mr. Addington filled, even by the confeſſion of a gentleman who was leſs favourable to his adminiſtration, "with dignity, grace, and rectitude." It might be added too, in the words of the late

ingenious,

ingenious, penetrating, and ever to be revered Doctor Warton, "with ability, knowledge, patience, and amiable manners." Warton's note on v. 71. of Donne's Satires verſified, in vol. iv. of Warton's Pope, p. 270. ed. 1797.

Actuated by a ſpirit of noble magnanimity, by a generous concern for public good, and by a deep ſenſe of duty to his Sovereign, the ſpeaker's chair, with all its honours, emoluments, and comparative eaſe, Mr. Addington unconditionally relinquiſhed, at a period, when Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden were confederate againſt us; when Buonaparte by the terror of his arms had compelled ſome, and by the ſtratagems of his policy had induced other nations of Europe to ſhut us out from their ports, and thus ruin our commerce; at a period, when the aſpect of foreign affairs was dark and gloomy, and the ſtate of domeſtic union much agitated and diſturbed. To deliver us from all theſe complicated and alarming difficulties, was the immediate province of his new official appointment. It muſt be confeſſed the undertaking was momentous and arduous: but his exertions for the accompliſhment of that intereſting purpoſe have been wiſely conceived, and prudently directed: and, by the

blessing of Almighty God! on his sincere endeavours, he has reasonable grounds for hoping the time is not far distant, when he may announce a definitive treaty of peace with all our enemies; whilst at home there happily prevails a general disposition for tranquillity, satisfaction, and unanimity.

Wednesday, Feb. 10.—Mr. Abbot was this day chosen speaker of the house of commons. He was proposed by the master of the rolls, Sir William Grant. Mr. Baker seconded the motion. Mr. Sheridan proposed Mr. C. Dundas; and was seconded by lord George Cavendish. The election of Mr. Abbot was however carried, without a division; and the chair filled by a gentleman of industry, moderation, and great knowledge.

Thursday, Feb. 11.—Mr. Abbot appeared at the bar of the house of lords. He addressed the lords commissioners, who were appointed to give the royal approbation to his election. In the usual form of words, he informed them the choice of speaker of the house of commons had devolved on him. The lord chancellor, as one of the commissioners, expressed his majesty's approbation; whereupon Mr. Abbot returned to the house of commons, and took the chair accordingly.

Monday,

Monday, Feb. 15.

Meſſage from his MAJESTY.

G. R.

"His Majeſty feels great concern at being under the neceſſity of acquainting the houſe of commons, that the proviſion appointed out of the civil liſt, for defraying the expences of his houſehold, has been found inadequate to ſupport the ſame; in conſequence of which, certain debts have been unavoidably incurred; an account of which his Majeſty has ordered to be laid before his houſe of commons. His Majeſty relies on the zeal and affection of his houſe of commons, to take the ſame into conſideration, and to adopt ſuch meaſures as circumſtances may require."

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the meſſage ſhould be referred to a committee of ſupply. Agreed to nem. con.

Thurſday, Feb. 16.—The chancellor of the exchequer laid before the houſe an account of the civil liſt expenditures for the laſt three years, ending the 5th of January. This, with the papers already before the houſe, would form a regular ſtatement upon that ſubject, ſo far back as the year 1786. He moved, that the account ſhould

lie on the table; and gave notice, that on to-morrow he ſhould move for the papers being re-ferred to the conſideration of a ſpecial com-mittee.

Mr. Sheridan aſked Mr. Addington, if it was probable he ſhould have his Majeſty's inſtruc-tions to communicate any thing to the houſe, on the ſubject of the rights and claims of his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales? The chancellor of the exchequer anſwered, he had no inſtruc-tions to make any communication on the ſubject; nor did he think it probable he ſhould.

Wedneſday, Feb. 17.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the ſeveral accounts, which he had preſented relative to the arrears of the civil liſt, ſhould be referred to a ſelect com-mittee. He preferred a ſelect committee to that of a committee of ſupply, in order that the cir-cumſtances attached thereto might undergo all that inveſtigation they ſo properly demanded, and that the public might be made acquainted with the reaſons, which cauſed ſuch an accumulation of debt on the civil liſt. He wiſhed all circum-ſtances ſhould be inveſtigated, perſuaded as he was that upon ſuch inveſtigation the houſe and the public would reſt ſatisfied, that the cauſes of accumulation were unavoidable. It would be

recollected,

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S
recollected, that sixteen years ago, when the schedule, which limited the amount of the civil list income was fixed, every article of the necessaries, and still more of the luxuries of life, were infinitely below the price at which they have all been since acquired. He would also call to their observation the circumstances in each of their own several domestic concerns; and in their reference, he was convinced they would find the truth of his assertion. He would appeal to their judgments, if that were the case in private life, how much more the proportion must bear where royalty was concerned, and how much more must be the consequent increase of expenditure in his Majesty's civil list establishment." He conceived it would be right that every opportunity should be afforded the house to reflect on the matter; and therefore, an interval as long as circumstances would admit, should be allowed between the report and its consideration. He concluded with moving, "That a select committee be appointed to consider the accounts, which, by his Majesty's commands, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer had presented and delivered in, relative to his Majesty's civil list; and that they should report the same as they shall appear to them, together with their opinions thereon, to that house."

Mr. Sutton Manners requefted the attention of the houfe, to the concerns of his royal highnefs the Prince of Wales. He ftated, that the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall were vefted in the Prince of Wales from the moment of his birth. That thefe revenues were in general allowed to accumulate during his minority, in order to form a fund from which his eftablifhment might be founded, upon his coming of age. With refpect to the prefent Prince of Wales, the ufual and accuftomed mode of proceeding, he contended, had not been obferved: the revenues of his duchy had not been fo allowed to accumulate; but they had been applied to the ufes of the civil lift; and unlefs fuch application had been made of them, refources to the fame amount, in aid of the civil lift, muft have been had and voted from the public purfe. He concluded with a wifh, that his royal highnefs's rights might be inveftigated.

Mr. Fox approved of the ftatement made by Mr. Manners Sutton. He was of opinion, the Prince had confiderable claims on the public. He faid, he fhould fupport the prefent motion, i. e. the chancellor of the exchequer's, without entering into the fubject; but would not have it thence underftood, that he gave a momentary

approbation

approbation to the meaſure of applying to parliament to diſcharge the arrears of the civil liſt. His Majeſty, he contended, ought not to be permitted to come to parliament, and deſire it to make the civil liſt equal to his expences; but ſhould take care to confine his expences within the limits of the civil liſt, as eſtabliſhed at the commencement of his reign, and which parliament ought not to alter.

Mr. Pitt was of opinion, it became the honour of the houſe that ſome proper mode of inveſtigating the claims of his royal highneſs ſhould be adopted. He entered, however, his proteſt at once againſt the doctrine, "that parliament, by granting at the commencement of a reign a civil liſt eſtabliſhment, deprives itſelf of the power of augmenting its amount, if the increaſed rate of expence, which attaches to the crown as much as to the meaneſt ſubject, ſhould require ſuch an augmentation. I never will admit, that parliament can abridge its inherent power of increaſing that grant, which is beſtowed not more for the gratification of the Sovereign, than for the ſervice of the public; the ſupport of the different departments of ſtate, and the maintenance of that ſplendour which is not only eſſential, but is the vital principle inſeparably connected

with the exiſtence of a monarchical form of government."

The houſe agreed to the original motion; and then the chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That the committee to be appointed ſhould conſiſt of twenty-one." To which, when the houſe agreed alſo, he propoſed twenty; and, on the motion of lord Hawkeſbury, the name of the chancellor of the exchequer was added to them.

The report of the committee was ordered to be received to-morrow.

When he remarked that ſplendour was a vital principle inſeparably connected with monarchy, Mr. Pitt ſpoke the language of that genuine political wiſdom, which derives its maxims from long obſervation on the nature, paſſions, and prejudices of man.

Whatever be your executive power, you muſt make it reſpectable in the ſight of the people, or you diminiſh the force of your laws, and weaken the energy of your government.

Not only Romulus, but the conſuls alſo, diſcerned the expediency of ſecuring reſpect by external appearance.

Of the one we read "(Jura) ita ſancta generi hominum

hominum agresti fore ratus, si seipse venerabilem Insignibus Imperii fecisset, quùm cætero habitu se augustiorem, tùm maximè lictoribus duodecim sumtis fecit." Liv. 1. 8. Of the other, the historian records, "Omnia jura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere." Ibid. l. 2. 1.

Nor is it sufficient that you secure respect by striking terror; you must, to lay it on a deeper foundation, ensure and confirm it, by influencing opinion, and by captivating the affections. Neckar, in his "Essay on the True Principles of Executive Power," vol. i. p. 368. has a good remark on this subject: and Burke, with great force, has combated the cold philosophism, which would strip the throne of every thing conducive to procure attachment. "Reflections on the Revolutions in France," p. 115. ed. 1790.

Those, who estimate civil institutions, not according to the benefits they produce in society, but by the sum of money required to support them, have in their narrow and mercenary conceptions endeavoured to raise a prejudice against even limited monarchy, by an insinuation that republican government is cheaper. In answer to this it is well observed by Gregory; "The faction, intrigue, and consequently the bribery prevalent in popular states, may occasion as lavish

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an expenditure of the public treaſure by thoſe in power, as the trappings of royalty." Eſſays Hiſtorical and Moral by G. Gregory, p. 186, ed. 1785.

A republic is a " Bellua multorum capitum," and the mouth of each head muſt be ſupplied, till the throat is filled, and the appetite gorged. It was to this rapacity in republican adminiſtrators, each in ſucceſſion enriching himſelf at the public expence, thar Ariſtotle alluded; or rather Æſop, whoſe fable of the " Fox and Hedgehog" is preſerved by Ariſtotle, in the ſecond of his books on rhetoric, Ch. 21. edit. Goulſton. If œconomical politicians would advert to the multiplied and ſecret applications of public treaſure in republics, they ought even as nice calculators and frugal managers to prefer limited monarchy for its comparative cheapneſs and open fairneſs. But how deſpicable and groveling an idea is it, that by the computation of ſhillings and pence, ſhould be weighed and valued civil government, of all things (next to religion) the moſt intereſting concern to man!

Monday, Feb. 22.—Intimation was given by Mr. Manners Sutton, that from motives of deference and reſpect to his Majeſty, his royal highneſs

nefs the Prince of Wales defired the confideration of his own claims to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall might be poftponed, till the more ferious concerns of the civil lift were fettled.

Tuefday, Feb. 23.—Dr. Lawrence enquired of the fecretary of ftate, if the report was true, that the convention entered into between Great Britain and Ruffia had been ratified by Denmark. Lord Hawkefbury replied, it was perfectly true that government had received the formal ratification of Denmark to that convention.

This communication is of material importance to the commercial part of the country. It will remove that fufpenfe which has hitherto retarded the operations of thofe, who would trade with Denmark.

Friday, Feb. 26.—Government on this day received an official account, that Sweden alfo had acceded to the northern convention with Great Britain.

Monday, March 1.—Mr. Dickinfon gave notice that he fhould, on Thurfday next, move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing and amending the act of laft feffion, refpecting the refidence of the clergy.

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The act to which Mr. Dickinson alluded, was an act for suspending the operation of the statute of Hen. 8th. c. 21st. which statute has lately been applied as an instrument of extreme oppression. Informers, totally unconnected with the parishes, of which the suffering ministers were rectors, and for the avowed purpose of raising money, have with success prosecuted for non-residence, some whose parsonage houses were undergoing repairs, and therefore not habitable; others who had houses utterly unfit for habitation, but who most conscientiously officiated on every Sunday; and others whom regard for the health of their families obliged to be absent.

The statute is not only cruel, but it is absurd. For although it compels the rector to live in the parsonage house, yet it does not require him to officiate.

It is moreover ineffectual. For on a living of £.600. per ann. and upwards, a rector might say he would rather incur the penalty, than reside in a parish of ill condition; for, he could afford to pay his £. 10. per month in each year, and might think this charge more eligible than disquiet from vexatious parishioners.

It is somewhat singular, that in France, Henry the second should have revived a law of Louis the

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eleventh, not many years after the enacting of our own Henry's ſtatute. "Sancitum et ——— in ſenatu recitatum eſt, ut epiſcopi et curiones aſſidui ad ſua ſacerdotia eſſent, et ipſi de rebus ſacris ad populum concionarentur, vel vicarios præberent, qui eorum vicem fungerentur; ni faciant, ſacerdotiorum fructibus mulctentur." Thuan. Hiſt. l. 19. vol. i. p. 666. ed. Buckley. In one reſpect however, and that of conſiderable moment, the French law was more indulgent than the Engliſh. It allowed ſubſtitutes. Our own ſtatute, except in the caſe of pluralities by diſpenſation, and other ſpecified inſtances of exemption, does not give the option either of perſonal, or vicarious, attendance.

That reſidence, as a general principle, is pregnant with an infinitude of good conſequences, appears obvious to the ſlighteſt conſideration. But then, like all other general principles, it may admit of very many exceptions, and be modified by a great variety of qualifications. There are many occaſions, when a rector can be more uſefully employed for the purpoſes of promoting religion and learning, by reſiding rather in another, than in his own pariſh. And there are many occaſions, when more eſſential ſervice can be done by the curate, than by his rector.

Doctor

Doctor Sturges, chancellor of Winchester diocese, has written candidly, and sensibly, on the subject of non-residence. His remarks are particularly valuable, because they result from much knowledge and much experience collected in his official superintendence over the clergy.

Dr. S. is of opinion, that the severity of the law might in very many instances have been fairly mitigated, if in the various prosecutions lately instituted the courts had made a proper discrimination, between that which from the nature of the case and the reason of the thing was unavoidable, and therefore NOT WILFUL absence; and that, which being defensible on no ground either of necessity, expediency, or propriety, was NOT unavoidable, but clearly and palpably in all its circumstances a matter of mere choice, and therefore WILFUL.

A declaratory act, explaining the several and various cases in which ministers shall be considered as NOT WILFULLY absent, and exempting from penalties those who come within such cases, might be so framed as to relieve the clergy; and yet, by permitting the competency for information and prosecution to remain where it already exists, might obviate the difficulty of determining on

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points very material in this bufinefs, viz. the perfons to whom the clergy fhall be amenable; and the controuling power which fhall be given to thofe perfons.

Mr. Nicholas Vanfittart faid, that in the abfence of the chancellor of the exchequer, "the caufe of which he was fure every gentleman lamented," he rofe to give notice, that in the committee of fupply on Wednefday next, a motion would be made for a farther iffue of exchequer bills, to the amount of one million.

Mr. Nicholas Vanfittart, though briefly, yet properly characterized the humanity of a Britifh fenate. Domeftic indifpofition prevented Mr. Addington from attending.

Wednefday, March 3.—Mr. Elliott faid, he found much ground for apprehenfion and alarm, on the retrofpect of the events which had happened in fucceffion, fince the period at which was figned the preliminary treaty. France had affumed a menacing afpect, which portended danger to all Europe. Buonaparte was invefted with the fupremacy of the Italian republic, whilft the negotiation between this country and France was ftill pending.

pending. A very large portion of the French fleet had ſailed to the Weſt Indies. He was of opinion, France ſhould be called upon to explain the deſtination of ſuch a fleet.

Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered, and obſerved, that the committee muſt perceive how improper it would be for him to enter at that time into diſcuſſion of the points brought forward by Mr. Elliott. Nothing could juſtify ſuch diſcuſſion and interference of the committee, but certain knowledge that the negociation had been protracted to an unuſual length of time; and that ſuch conſequences had thence ariſen as gave parliament a right to call on miniſters for an explanation. He readily admitted, that ſerious inconvenience had indeed enſued from the ſuſpenſe, in which the public mind had been kept on the important queſtion of "peace, or war." If however gentlemen would but reflect on the great variety of intereſts involved in the negotiation; if they would but conſider the many difficult points to be adjuſted; if they would but advert to paſt experience, and particularly to the circumſtances of the laſt peace, the preliminaries of which were ſigned on Jan. 20, 1783, but the definitive treaty not till December 3, of the ſame year; they would

TANJORE MAHARAJA SE[RFOJI]

would not think themſelves authorized to conclude, that the negotiation had been retarded by improper delay.

Dr. Lawrence and Mr. Wyndham coincided in ſentiments with Mr. Elliott.

Lord Caſtlereagh ſaw no cauſe of alarm in the ſailing of the French fleet to the Weſt Indies. The forces ſent from France were not more than ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh its government in Guadaloupe and St. Domingo; both which iſlands were diſtracted by inſurrections of the black inhabitants, which were dangerous and formidable to the white. The armament deſtined to reduce the revolted colonies, was not of a magnitude beyond the obvious neceſſity of the caſe.

Mr. Cornwallis obſerved, it was moſt probable the French expedition to the Weſt Indies might have in contemplation a fair and legitimate object: if, however, the intentions of the French government were hoſtile, and the negociation for peace ſhould terminate unfavourably, yet this country had nothing to apprehend. We had a force in the Weſt Indies more than ſufficient for the protection of our iſlands. We ſhould have the opportunity of fighting and taking the French ſhips at ſea, inſtead of counting them in their

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harbours. His Majeſty's miniſters therefore merited applauſe, for having ſuffered them to ſail.

The chancellor of the exchequer reſumed his ſeat in the houſe. He roſe and obſerved, that, "Whatever difference of opinion may prevail on other ſubjects, he was perſuaded it would however be generally admitted, that, under the preſent exiſting circumſtances, it would be extremely inexpedient and ineligible to enter into any contract for the ſervice of the whole year; and that the moſt deſirable method for the ſupply of preſent exigencies would be, by a farther iſſue of exchequer bills. He therefore moved (according to Mr. Vanſittart's notice on Monday, Mar. 1.) "That it is the opinion of the committee, that towards providing for the ſupply for the ſervice of his Majeſty, there ſhould be raiſed the ſum of one million by loan on exchequer bills." Agreed to.

Thurſday, March 4.—Mr. Alexander having brought up the report of the committee of ſupply, and a motion having been put on the charge for the barrack department, Mr. Robſon made many remarks on the expences incurred by

the barrack ſyſtem, and then ſpoke to this effect: "Gentlemen may fence themſelves round with majorities; but the time will come, when there muſt be an account given of the public money. The public acceptances have been refuſed."

Some interruption having been occaſioned by Mr. Robſon's aſſertion, at length the ſpeaker ſuggeſted the propriety of proceeding to the buſineſs of the day. On this the ſecretary at war accounted for the barrack charges; after which the queſtion was put and carried, and reſolution agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer then ſaid, the houſe muſt be aware there had been but little time for him to inveſtigate the charge made in the ſtatement of the honourable gentleman, in which he alluded to the degraded condition of government credit; but he had juſt received information from authority on which he could depend, that this proof of inſolvency in government was the refuſal of payment of a bill, accepted at the ſick and hurt office, amounting to the *amazing* ſum of £. 19. 7*s*.

Thurſday, March 4.—On a queſtion of divorce in the houſe of peers, lord Auckland ſaid, "Let

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any one look to France, and ſee what were the fruits of that law, which made marriage a civil compact, and put it in the power of parties to be divorced, for ſo trivial a cauſe as incompatibility of temper. He would find, that during the laſt year, upwards of ſeven hundred divorces "a vinculo matrimonii" took place in Paris and its vicinity."

That, except in the caſe of adultery, and that which cannot with decency be mentioned, the marriage compact ſhould be of perpetual force, is an obligation reſulting from the nature of man, and therefore ſanctioned by revealed religion. In weakening the validity of this obligation, the conſtitution of the French republic acted moſt cruelly towards the female ſex, and fatally for the riſing generation. When deprived of that, which is their chief ornament, women have been diſcarded by capricious huſbands: and the children, which ſhall be the offspring derived from ſhort cohabitation, will be born into the world without any proſpect of paternal care.

"That the bond (of marriage) be perpetual, to end only by death," is the poſition of Hutcheſon in his "Short Introduction to Moral Philoſophy." (B. 3. c. 1. ſ. 5. 4.) To the ſame effect, ſee Fordyce's

Fordyce's Moral Philoſophy, (Sect. 3. c. 2. b. 3.) In exemplifying the ſanctity of the Chriſtian law with reſpect to marriage, Grotius remarks, "Cumque omnis vera amicitia perpetua ſit et inſolubilis, merito talem eam eſſe voluit, quæ cum animorum ſocietate corporum quoque continet communionem: quod etiam ad rectam liberorum educationem haud dubio eſt utilius." (Grot. de Ver. Rel. Chriſt. B. 2. ſ. 13.) And that diſcordancy of temper ſhould not be allowed as a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify divorce, is obſerved by Puffendorf, who thu adds; "Cujus, inter alias, etiam hæc ratio eſt, ne facultas divortii contumaciam morum alat; ſed potius alterius conditionis deſperatio ad commoditatem morum, mutuamque tolerantiam conjuges incitet." (Puffendorf, De officio Hominis, L. 2. c. 2. ſ. 6.)

Friday, March 5.—A bill was brought in, which Mr. Nicholas Vanſittart and lord Hawkeſbury ſupported. The nature of it was this. America, after the concluſion of its war with this country, laid certain duties on Britiſh goods imported in foreign ſhips. Great Britain, in return, laid other duties on American goods, to counterbalance thoſe impoſed by America. Through her miniſter, America had notified her intention

intention of taking off thoſe duties. It was therefore expedient to paſs an act for granting his Majeſty power to ſuſpend the duties here alſo, according to circumſtances. The object of the preſent Bill was to grant ſuch power.

In his remarks on the bill, which was to be the foundation of an American treaty, Mr. Wyndham wiſhed we ſhould look for ſupport and dignity, rather to our martial ſpirit and high ſenſe of honour, than to our commercial proſperity.

The chancellor of the Exchequer was thence led to obſerve, "it appeared of late more faſhionable than it ſhould be, to pronounce commercial purſuits incompatible with high ſentiments of honour and national glory. But it would be recollected by the houſe, that ſuch an opinion was erroneous in principle, and falſe in fact. For, the experience of the laſt twelve years, in which we had attained to an unprecedented and unrivalled degree of commercial proſperity, and during which the brilliant conduct of our army and navy, ſufficiently proved that the moſt exalted national ſpirit was not inconſiſtent with ſuch proſperity; the experience of theſe facts ſerved to refute and falſify the imputations which, without reaſon, were thrown out againſt commerce.

THE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S... MAHAL

He agreed with Mr. Wyndham, that the power of France was immenſe. He would aſſure him, he was far from contemplating that power with indifference. He would not be charged with apathy on that ſubject. He was aware the power of France was ſuch, as to call for the utmoſt vigilance, exertion and vigour on the part of this country; but not ſuch as to juſtify deſpondency; that, he truſted, would be far removed from the minds of Engliſhmen. That high national ſpirit, which had ever diſtinguiſhed them, and which was the great conſervative of national importance, he had the firmeſt reliance, would uniformly preſerve them from any degrading or dejected feeling."

Gentlemen of landed intereſt ſhould be extremely cautious how they undervalue the commercial part of our community. It is to be remembered, that in the war with America, and in that which is juſt concluded, we were principally enabled to meet the charges, by the revenue ariſing from commerce. To its commerce, this country owes its chief ſplendor. And the reaſon which gives to commerce ſuperior activity in this nation is, the ſpirit of our conſtitution, which opens the avenues of reſpect and honour equally to commercial as profeſſional men. Found-

ed in truth is the maxim which aſſerts "Eò impendi laborem, ac periculum, unde emolumentum atque honos ſperetur. Nihil non aggreſſuros homines, ſi magna conatis magna præmia proponantur." (Liv. iv. 35.) Woe be to our trade, when this ſpirit is checked or diſcouraged. Forbid it indeed, that men of minds contracted by the little and petty dealings of a retail ſhop, ſhould be inveſted with legiſlative authority: but our Britiſh merchants of the higher claſs do not come within that deſcription. They are men of liberal education, enlarged views, poliſhed manners, and generous principles. They are thus eminently qualified for a Britiſh ſenate; a council, in which queſtions commercial muſt of neceſſity be diſcuſſed very frequently; not indeed as to minute particulars, but on the broad ground of general policy. If indeed there were danger, that in England, as in Holland, every feeling of patriotiſm would be abſorbed in ſelfiſhneſs and avarice and luſt of gain; then we might deprecate the encouragement of commerce: but as there are energies in the Britiſh conſtitution, and in the minds of Engliſhmen, which will be more than adequate to reſiſt ſuch evil, let commerce maintain its due proportion of reſpectability.

Sully,

Sully, in the twelfth book of his memoirs, p. 61. vol. ii. ed. 1761, has given occaſion for the following ſtricture: "We muſt likewiſe agree, that one of the chief cares of a ſovereign being to maintain and ſtrengthen unanimity between his ſubjects, by baniſhing jealouſies from among the different ranks, and the mutual animoſities of the ſeveral orders towards each other; and war not being, as formerly, the true, and even the only means, of rendering a kingdom flouriſhing; the greateſt part of the maxims laid down with this view (of giving to military virtue the moſt decided preference and almoſt excluſive honour) are unſupported. Would it not be much fitter to oblige the numerous families to divide themſelves equally among the different employments in the army, the navy, the church, and commerce, and to permit the nobility to engage in trade?" (Note, tranſlated from the the French edition of Sully's Memoirs.) This propoſed *compulſion* of courſe is a meaſure at which a Briton would ſpurn with juſt indignation. The diſtribution however itſelf, is conceived in political wiſdom.

About this time, the funds experienced a ſlight depreſſion, and ſome articles of life were advanced in price, under public apprehenſion that Buonaparte

Buonaparte had entered into the preliminaries of peace, merely as a ſtratagem by which to effect the ſailing of his naval armament to the Weſt Indies. This apprehenſion has been encreaſed by the preparations making at Portſmouth, for ſending out all the line of battle ſhips, victualled for five months, to join the channel fleet; and alſo, by the ſailing of ſix men of war from Plymouth, victualled for five months, on foreign ſervice.

In the preſent diſturbed ſtate of the Weſt Indies, it is prudent to keep a conſiderable naval force in that quarter. And as it is poſſible, though from its impolicy not probable, that Buonaparte may have inſidious deſigns, it is thence neceſſary that our fleet on that ſtation ſhould be ſuperior to the French. Whatever may be the ſtrength of France in the Weſt Indies, yet as our naval armament is there of greater force, we have nothing to apprehend.

He was no mean ſtateſman, who made the following remark:

" Fortis et conſtantis eſt, non perturbari in rebus aſperis, nec tumultuantem de gradu dejici, ut dicitur; ſed præſenti animo uti et conſilio, nec a ratione diſcedere. Quanquam hoc animi, illud etiam ingenii magni eſt, præcipere cogitatione

tione futura, et aliquanto ante conſtituere quid accidere poſſit in utramque partem; et quid agendum ſit, cùm quid evenerit; nec committere, ut aliquando dicendum ſit, *non putaram.* Hæc ſunt opera magni animi et excelſi, et prudentiâ conſilioque fidentis!" (Cic. Off. 1. 23.)

Friday, March 12. The order of the day, for the houſe to go into a committee of ſupply, was moved; and on the motion of Mr. William Elliott, the navy eſtimates were referred to the ſaid Committee.

Mr. Elliott moved the firſt reſolution; which was, that 140,705*l.* be granted for the ordinary eſtabliſhment of the navy for two months.

Mr. Robſon, having raiſed ſome objections, expreſſed his diſſatisfaction that there were ſo few members preſent, on this and other occaſions of voting public money for the diſpoſal of miniſters.

On this point, the chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, it ſtruck his mind that the attendance, which had been made the ſubject of ſo much complaint, was only to be viewed as a deciſive evidence, that on the matter under conſideration there was but one ſentiment and one voice

which was felt and expreſſed by every member of the houſe "I am confident, ſir, there is but one ſentiment on the propriety of ſuſtaining at its higheſt point, the naval greatneſs, the maritime ſtrength, the independent ſpirit of this country. I am convinced that every member of this houſe is ſo fully impreſſed with a belief that there exiſts unanimity in this feeling, that he thinks he may ſafely go away, and leave the ſubject to the conſideration of ſome few; conſcious as he is, that they will be faithful to the truſt repoſed in them; that they will diſplay a due ſenſe of the importance of the charge committed to their care; that they will ſpurn the idea of countenancing any meaſure, which might have the effect of degrading the national dignity at ſo delicate a conjuncture of public affairs. The honourable gentleman complains, that the ſupplies are voted only for two months; and ſuppoſes, that from this mode of providing for the national expenditure, the enemy may be induced to conceive we are reſolved to have peace at all events, and on any terms. For myſelf, ſir, as well as for the reſt of his Majeſty's miniſters, I muſt utterly diſdain every ſuch inſinuation; and muſt take the liberty of aſſuring the houſe, that his Majeſty's miniſters

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ſhall propoſe no vote, ſhall expreſs no ſentiments, ſhall harbour no opinion ſo diſgraceful to the national character, ſo degrading to the national dignity, as even to call on the houſe to ſanction a peace concluded on ſuch terms as thoſe which the honourable gentleman ſuppoſes. In the motion now before the houſe, there is ſurely nothing which in the remoteſt degree can favour ſuch a ſuppoſition. The object of the motion is ſimply to enable government to keep up an eſtabliſhment, calculated to meet whatever emergencies may occur: but it does by no means imply that ſuch an eſtabliſhment will be neceſſary, or that it will actually be maintained. All that it propoſes is, that in caſe of neceſſity this eſtabliſhment may be kept up for the period of two months; though I hope the ſecurity of our national intereſts and honour will not render it neceſſary even during that period. If, however, on the other hand, ſir, thoſe great objects ſhould render an eſtabliſhment of this kind neceſſary for a longer time, I truſt there is a ſpirit in the houſe and country, which would require it to be kept up not for two months only, but for any other period. The attendance of this evening, which to the houonrable gentleman is a ſubject of complaint, is to me a moſt

convincing

convincing proof of the complete acquiefcence of this houfe in the line of conduct, which, under the prefent circumftances of the country, minifters have thought it their duty to purfue; a line of conduct, which if they had not adopted, they would be chargeable with violating in a moft culpable manner their duty to that country, whofe honour and whofe glory they are bound to protect; their obligations to that Sovereign, who has entrufted them with the management of his affairs and direction of his councils; their feelings, not merely as men, but as Englifhmen, called upon by every motive, and bound by every tie to uphold the national independence, dignity, and fame."

Mr. William Elliott's motion, and other refolutions for defraying naval expences during the period of two months, were put, and carried without a divifion.

Sunday, March 14.—This is the anniverfary of Mr. Addington's official appointment. May the fecond and every fucceeding year of his adminiftration, correfpond with that which is juft paft, in producing an equal degree of national happinefs! He hath been hitherto "fortunatufque laborum,

TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

laborum, egregiusque animi," (Virg. Æn. 11. 416.) Or, to speak in language which better becomes Christians, and which his own education taught him to approve, "The Lord hath made all that he hath done, to prosper in his hands!" Gen. xxxix. 3.

The several most responsible and most respectable departments of ministry are at this time filled by the following persons:

The duke of Portland is lord president of the council.

Lord Eldon, lord chancellor.

Lord Westmoreland, lord privy seal.

Lord Pelham, secretary of state for the home department.

Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Lord Hobart, secretary of state for the war department.

Lord Dartmouth, president of the board of controul for Indian affairs.

Lord St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty.

Lord Chatham, master of the ordnance.

Duke of York, commander in chief of the forces.

Mr. Yorke, secretary at war.

Mr.

Mr. Steele, and lord Glenbervie, joint-paymasters of the forces.

Mr. Bragge, treasurer of the navy.

Lord Hardwicke, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord Chesterfield, master of the horse.

Lord Auckland, and lord Charles Spencer, joint post-masters general.

Sir William Grant, master of the rolls.

Sir Edward Law, attorney general.

Mr. Percival, solicitor general.

Monday, March 15.—In the house of peers; lord Carlisle thought it but justice to the present ministers, to say, that, in his opinion, they deserved every kind of praise for the promptitude and vigour with which their conduct was recently marked. But he wished to obtain some information respecting the altered condition of France. If all the terms of the preliminary treaty had been the fairest and most favourable that could possibly be, yet the spirit of them must have been entirely changed, and the advantages of them to this country must have been done away, by the conduct of France since the period at which the preliminary treaty was signed. The chief consul has assumed the presidency of the Italian republic. This extraordinay measure, however, which placed

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all Italy in the power of France, is not the only circumſtance which has altered the condition of the French republic: ſhe has in addition to this acquired more than an equal portion of colonial territory. By the treaty with Spain ſhe was to get a port in the Mediterranean, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Louiſiana, the two Floridas, and the river of the Amazons. He wiſhed then to know what meaſures miniſters had adopted in the courſe of the negociation, with the view of counteracting this great and alarming change, which had taken place in the ſtate of France?

Lord Pelham was aſſured the noble earl could not deſire him to diſcloſe affairs, which ought to be kept ſecret. When the definitive treaty ſhould come to be diſcuſſed, the noble lord and that houſe would be furniſhed with every particular of information, which might be neceſſary for them to receive, in order to form on it a right judgment.

Lord Carliſle expreſſed his acquieſcence; adding however his conceptions, that probably the ſame vigour, which had recently been diſplayed by miniſters, had alſo prompted them to inſiſt on alterations in the preliminaries, and to withdraw many of the conceſſions before made.

Before Buonaparte had aſpired to the preſidency of the Italian republic, which he has aſſumed to himſelf whilſt the negociation of peace has been under conſideration at Amiens, it had been ſtipulated that Malta ſhould be garriſoned by half Neapolitan and half French troops. As the chief conſul of France, by taking to himſelf its preſidency, is thence inveſted with power to controul Italy, lord Carliſle conceives the troops of the king of Naples will be too much under the influence of France; more eſpecially if Malta is garriſoned by half French troops, no leſs than by half Neapolitan. Hence, he apprehends danger, leſt Malta eventually ſhould fall into the hands of the chief conſul. Malta, which for a century has been of no great conſequence, is now rendered important from its vicinity to Egypt. If France is poſſeſſed of that iſland, an expedition from thence to the coaſt of Egypt will, on any ſudden rupture, be greatly facilitated. It is the policy of England to impede any attack on Egypt, which France may meditate. For, by ſettling in Egypt, the French would not only gain a province in itſelf valuable both from its fertility and advantageous ſituation for trade, but they would alſo eſtabliſh themſelves in a quarter, from which

might

might be apprehended imminent danger to the Turkiſh empire, and conſiderable inſecurity to our own Eaſt Indian poſſeſſions.

Thurſday, March 18.—The lord mayor of London held a common hall. The propriety of petitioning parliament to repeal the income tax, was taken into conſideration. A reſolution to that effect was moved and carried. Among other objections made to the income tax, was this aſſumption; "That no modification of it can render it either equitable, or juſt."

That the income tax is not equitable and juſt in *principle*, can never be admitted. For, as a laborious and well informed writer obſerves, "It is juſt every one ſhould pay a general tax, for the ſupport of the ſtate, in proportion to his abilities." (Steuart's Political Œconomy, B. v. c. 8. vol. ii. p. 539. ed. 1767.) This author has treated copiouſly on the ſubject of taxes; both thoſe which are proportional, and thoſe which are cumulative. He is far from being inattentive to the ſeveral cauſes, which render both inconvenient; he ſays, however, "I think little objection can be made to cumulative taxes, when they are impoſed upon poſſeſſions, which produce a viſible annual revenue, clear to the proprietor." (Ibid. p. 519.)

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The uſage of requiring a tenth of commercial articles and of land proceeds, prevailed at Athens. It is true, public religion was thence ſupported; but ſo was the ſtate alſo. "Decimæ vero præcipuè pendi ſolebant tam diis ipſis, quàm reipublicæ regibuſve, quòd illæ viderentur juſtiſſimæ efficiendo vectigali partes, adeo ut hoc vectigalis genus fuerit receptiſſimum: itaque vectigalia tam maritima, quàm agraria decimis præcipuè conſtabant partibus proventuum aut exportandarum importandarumque rerum." (Julius Pollux. l. 8. ſ. 132. Not.)

Aſcertaining income is a cuſtom of high antiquity.

Servius Tullius, a legiſlator of more than common capacity, and a popular king, obliged every citizen to deliver upon oath a true account of his property. His object was, that each might be claſſed and rated according to his fortune. The Roman hiſtorian, who on every occaſion ſhews an honeſt indignation againſt the intemperate uſe of power, acknowledges this to have been "Rem ſaluberrimam tanto futuro imperio: ex quò belli munia non viritim, ut antè, ſed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent." (Liv. i. 42.) The heavy burthens for maintaining the public force, were thrown on thoſe who could beſt ſupport them:

"Hæc

"Hæc omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera." (Ibid. l. 1. 43.)

Though Rome was under regal government, yet Athens was not, at the time to which allusion is made in the above cited remark. It was not judged inconsistent even with the democracy of that city, to require a proportion. Nor in this nation can it be unconstitutional, to demand a tenth of income towards the public exigencies, if such a tax be laid on us by that, which is the legitimate power of this country, the consent and act of parliament.

Mr. Pitt in proposing, and the parliament in giving sanction to the income tax, alike acted with spirit and wisdom. They consulted and yielded to the necessity of the case. And it never should be forgotten, that at the period when the income tax was first introduced, every other expedient of finance had been tried. It is not meant by this, that the funding system *could* not longer be pursued: it must however be acknowledged, that to have proceeded farther in that system, would have been extremely dangerous to public credit, which already had begun very sensibly to decline. Recourse having been once made to voluntary contributions, could not be repeated. Raising the assessed taxes to an amount

even quadruple, would not have anſwered the immediate purpoſe: for, ſome of the articles on which they could have been laid, might have been thoſe for which many œconomiſts would have had no occaſion, and thus the proceeds would have been diminiſhed: and even if they had brought in the ſum calculated, yet that aid would not have been adequate to the preſſure of the times. There was in reality no other alternative, than either to endanger public credit in an alarming degree by purſuing the funding ſyſtem; or, to raiſe the ſupplies within the year. The latter was beyond compariſon the preferable meaſure. And hundreds of thoſe very perſons, who are now reprobating the only plan by which it was poſſible ſo to raiſe the ſupplies, are probably deriving very great advantages from the adoption of it; ſince it tended to keep up the funds, and of courſe conduced to make ſtock at this preſent time proportionably more valuable.

A popular writer, by no means inclined to ſpeak with partiality on Mr. Pitt's meaſures, yet candidly ſays, reſpecting the income tax, "I am ſo far from cenſuring the miniſter for having done ſo much, that I ſincerely wiſh he had done a great deal more.—I conſider the property of men united in ſociety, ſo far to belong to the ſtate, that

any portion of it may juſtly be called by the legiſlature, for the promotion of the common good; and it is then moſt equitably called for, when all individuals poſſeſſing property of any kind, contribute in proportion to their poſſeſſions." (Bp. Watſon's Addreſs to the People of Great Britain in 1798, p. 2. 4.)

Friday, March 19.—The arrival of the French fleet at St. Domingo, and the reſiſtance made by the officers of general Touſſaint to the landing of French troops, are fully detailed in authentic papers. Cape François has been burnt, and deſtruction is threatened to all the whites, by the men of colour.

Whoever would thoroughly inveſtigate the cauſes, which have contributed to erect St. Domingo into an independent black republic, would do well to conſult the work of BRYAN EDWARDS, entitled, "An Hiſtorical Survey of the French Colony in the iſland of St. Domingo." That eloquent, animated, and penetrating author, developes the ſource of all the crimes and miſeries, which from the year 1791 have ſpread deſolation and woe, over a ſpot where havoc has not yet finiſhed its deeds of atrocity. There was in Paris, previouſly to the year 1789, a philanthropic ſociety, called *Amis des Noirs.* This ſociety

brought to Paris from St. Domingo ſome men of colour, who reſided in the capital, and were inſtructed by theſe their pretended friends. Among others, one " Ogé had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des* Noirs, under the patronage of Gregoire, Briſſot, La Fayette, and Robertſpierre, the leading members of that ſociety; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality*, and the *rights of man*. Here it was that he firſt learnt the miſeries of his condition, the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were expoſed in the Weſt Indies, and the monſtrous injuſtice and abſurdity of that prejudice, " which (ſaid Gregoire) eſtimating a man's merit by the colour of his ſkin, has placed at an immenſe diſtance from each other the children of the ſame parent; a prejudice, which ſtifles the voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity aſunder."

" That theſe are great evils muſt frankly be admitted; and it would have been fortunate if ſuch men as Briſſot and Gregoire, inſtead of bewailing their exiſtence, and magnifying their extent, had applied their talents in conſidering of the beſt practicable means of redreſſing them. But theſe perſons had other objects in view: their aim, as I have ſhewn, was not to reform, but

MAHARAJA SERF

to deſtroy; to excite convulſions in every part of the French empire; and the ill-fated Ogé became their tool, and was afterwards the victim of their guilty ambition. (Edwards's Hiſt. of St. Domingo, c. 4. p. 42. ed. 1797.) Ogé returned to St. Domingo on Oct. 12. 1790, furniſhed with arms and ammunition, which he ſecreted. He diſpatched a letter to the governor, who was a royaliſt, requiring that the privileges enjoyed by the whites ſhould be extended to all other perſons without diſtinction; he declared himſelf the protector of the mulattos, and announced his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unleſs their wrongs ſhould be redreſſed. (ibid.) He excited the mulattos to revolt; who under his conduct repeatedly committed acts of ſhocking barbarity. He was at length taken priſoner; and then confeſſed that a dreadful plot was in agitation, the effect of which were thoſe ſcenes of conflagration and maſſacre, which ſoon after enſued. (ibid.) In his preface to this work, under the moſt full perſuaſion that the calamities of St. Domingo had their origin in the ſuggeſtion of the *Amis des Noirs*, the author ſpeaks thus of his *Narrative*:

"On the ſober and conſiderate, on thoſe who are open to conviction, this aſſemblage of horrors

will

will have its effect. It will expoſe the lamentable ignorance of ſome, and the monſtrous wickedneſs of others, among the reformers of the preſent day, who, urging onwards ſchemes of perfection, and projects of amendment in the condition of human life, faſter than nature allows, are lighting up a conſuming fire between the different claſſes of mankind, which nothing but human blood can extinguiſh. To tell ſuch men that great and beneficial modifications in the eſtabliſhed orders of ſociety, can only be effected by a progreſſive improvement in the ſituation of the lower ranks of the people, is to preach to the wind. In their hands reformation, with a ſcythe more deſtructive than that of time, mows down every thing, and plants nothing. Moderation and caution they conſider as rank cowardice. Force and violence are the ready, and, in their opinion, the only proper application for the cure of early and habitual prejudices. Their practice, like that of other mountebanks, is bold and compendious; their motto is *cure or kill.*"

"Theſe reflections neceſſarily ariſe from the circumſtance, which is incontrovertibly proved in the following pages, namely, that the rebellion of the negroes in St. Domingo, and the inſurrection of the mulattos, to whom Ogé was ſent as

ambaſſador,

ambaſſador, had one and the ſame origin. It was not the ſtrong and irreſiſtible impulſe of human nature, groaning under oppreſſion, that excited either of thoſe claſſes to plunge their daggers into the boſoms of unoffending women and helpleſs infants. They were driven into thoſe exceſſes, reluctantly driven, by the vile machinations of men calling themſelves philoſophers—whoſe pretences to philanthropy were as groſs a mockery of human reaſon, as their conduct was an outrage on all the feelings of our nature, and the ties which hold ſociety together!!!"—(Preface, p. xix.)

The revolutionary doctrines, of which herſelf ſet the example, will now recoil on France, and renew the ſorrow of her people; ſorrow, which hath already been deep and bitter, ſuch as needed not additional wars to aggravate its load, but demands rather years of peace to conſole and obliterate its wretchedneſs. The eventual termination of this revolt at St. Domingo is intereſting to all Europe. Should Touſſaint, himſelf a negro general, be enabled to eſtabliſh a government of blacks, every ſettlement through the Weſt Indies will be in a perilous ſituation. For, with ſuch a precedent exiſting immediately before their eyes, and with ſuch a place of refuge in caſe of failure,

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it is more than probable that the ſlaves in every colony will make a deſperate and ferocious attempt to emancipate themſelves. In deprecating the inſurrection of negroes againſt whites, not only conſideration of political intereſt, but even the very cauſe of humanity is concerned. Arms in the hands of men, many of whom are ſavage Africans, and all of whom are exceedingly influenced by vindictive paſſions, would be as firebrands committed to children, as ſwords entruſted to the inſane, dealing ruin and ſlaughter in every place they approached. "Do you then defend the ſlave trade?" No: it is an accurſed thing. Moral evil alſo is an accurſed thing. But to eradicate the ſlave trade, I would no more ſlay thouſands of whites, than to eradicate moral evil I would deſtroy mankind. A deed of more horrid cruelty muſt not be wrought for the purpoſe of preventing a cuſtom far leſs cruel. If man is bound, as he certainly is bound, to follow prudence, it is his duty to proceed by PRACTICABLE and GRADUAL means in his endeavours to remove an eſtabliſhed and inveterate evil. By every poſſible argument applicable to the caſe, convince the planters, that if they regard the very exiſtence of their own poſterity, they will in policy, they will in humanity to their own future ſucceſſors,

proceed

proceed to limit gradually, till they have ſtopped entirely, the importation of ſlaves. And they muſt do this, not by the nugatory ſemblance of acts never deſigned to be put in force; but by the ſubſtantial authority of decrees, which are really intended to have effect, by being carried into rigorous execution. Exhort them to meliorate the condition of the ſlaves already among them; encourage the rearing of children in your iſlands; train up thoſe children as Europeans are trained, in a chriſtian ſenſe of duty to God and their fellow creatures; fix in them right ideas of that mutual relation and mutual intereſt, which ſubſiſt between maſter and ſervant; prevail on them to be induſtrious through principle; make them ſenſible that true liberty conſiſts in due ſubordination and obedience to eſtabliſhed laws; when you have effected this, pronounce your negroes free; but till all this is accompliſhed, it may be averred with truth, they are not to be truſted with liberty.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that there be laid before the houſe an account of the groſs amount of the duty paid under the income tax, together with the aſſeſſed duties for Great Britain, up to the fifth of April, 1801; diſ-

tinguiſhing

tinguiſhing the returns made before the commercial commiſſioners. Ordered.

He then moved, for the groſs amount of the income duty, for the year ending 1801, diſtinguiſhing the different claſſes; viz. thoſe under 200*l.* per annum; from that ſum to 500 *l.*; from that to 1,000 *l.*; then to 2,000 *l.*; and laſtly to 5,000 *l.* with all above that amount; diſtinguiſhing at the ſame time the deductions on account of children, and ſpecifically ſtating the number of perſons in each claſs. Ordered.

In the courſe of ſome converſation relative to the income tax, he took occaſion to ſay, that whatever might be the opinion he entertained of that tax, it was the reſult of long and ſerious reflection; nor could any thing which occurred in any quarter, however reſpectable, influence or alter his mind on the ſubject. What his ſentiments were, would be ſeen when he ſubmitted to the houſe the ways and means for the year.

Whatever may be the opinion of Mr. Addington, yet any one who will impartially conſider the effective manner, in which taken abſtractedly it tends to produce the end deſigned, will pronounce the income tax to be of all others the moſt equitable. And for this reaſon: It is the only

tax;

tax, which can reach perſons of every deſcription, poſſeſſing property. That commercial men ſhould prefer taxes on articles of conſumption, can be no matter of ſurprize. For, in fact, they would thus rid themſelves of a burthen, which they would throw on the conſumer: ſince, after all, it is the conſumer who ultimately pays the tax, which apparently ſeems to fall, becauſe it is by name laid, on ſome ſpecific article of merchandize. That ſtockholders alſo ſhould object to the income tax, might naturally be expected: it is their intereſt rather to encourage taxes, which ſhall leave it to their option how large a proportion they ſhall pay, either in the way of conſumption or aſſeſſment. That men of both the above deſcriptions ſhould alſo wiſh to eaſe themſelves, and lay a heavier burthen on the landholder, is nothing extraordinary. Their views to ſelfiſh conſiderations will direct their inclinations to that point. But why an income ariſing from land, already burthened with heavy rates for the poor, ſhould be more ſubjected to demands for the ſupply of public exigences, than an income proceeding from trade, or from the funds, no one ſufficient reaſon can be given. Commercial men and ſtockholders are equally defended and protected by government, as landholders; and, conſequently,

ſequently, ought in juſtice to contribute equally, according to their ſeveral abilities, towards defraying the charges of ſuch defence and protection.

Thus much for the *principle* of the income tax. In maintaining however the *principle*, it is not pretended that *new modifications* may not be deſirable. That is a different queſtion. Probably ſome change in the proportion may be adviſable; and ſome methods of aſcertaining income, leſs liable to ſcandalous evaſion, than the modes which have hitherto been notoriouſly evaded, may deſerve to be recommended and ſubſtituted by parliament.

Tueſday, March 23.—The report of the committee, appointed to examine into the amount and ſtate of the civil liſt, is now in circulation. For the credit of Mr. Hiley Addington, and Mr. Nicholas Vanſittart, ſecretaries of the treaſury, be it ſaid, This work muſt have required much labour in compiling, as it conſiſts of 73 printed folio pages: and it appears to have been digeſted with great accuracy, as it ſpecifies the particular articles of expenditure, arranged under the eight following claſſes. 1. Penſions and allowances to the royal family. 2. Salaries of the lord chancellor; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and judges of England and Wales. 3. Salaries to miniſters

miniſters at foreign courts. 4. Approved bills of all tradeſmen, artificers, and labourers, for any articles ſupplied, or work done, for his Majeſty's ſervice. 5. Menial ſervants of his Majeſty's houſehold. 6. Penſion liſt. 7. Salaries of all places payable out of the civil liſt. 8. Salaries and penſions of the high treaſurer, or commiſſioners of the exchequer, and the chancellor of the exchequer.

On Mr. Tierney's motion for an account of the groſs amount of the four-and-a-half per cent. duties, the chancellor of the exchequer having intimated his acquieſcence, merely becauſe there had been a precedent in 1786, proceeded to obſerve, he ſhould otherwiſe have objected. And for this reaſon; he conſidered thoſe duties as the excluſive property of his Majeſty; for, in the year 1663, the crown purchaſed the iſland of Barbadoes from the earl of Carliſle. Previouſly to that purchaſe, the iſland paid annually to his lordſhip a certain quantity of cotton. By virtue of the ſale, this annual payment of cotton was conveyed to the crown. The crown however commuted this impoſt, for an annual duty of four-and-a-half per cent. on the produce of the iſland. The ſame commutation happened at Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and St. Chriſtopher's.

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This circumſtance was well known; and therefore, in the ſeveral acts, which had hitherto been paſſed for maintaining the dignity of the crown by ſupplies of money, no notice had been taken of theſe four-and-a-half per cent. duties, becauſe they were conſidered as the private and excluſive right of his Majeſty.

Wedneſday, March 24.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved certain reſolutions, reſpecting thoſe branches of public ſervice which were deſcribed under the head of miſcellaneous ſervice, and not yet provided for by parliament.

The ſecretary at war moved, "That 238,000 *l.* ſhould be granted for defraying the charges of the embodied militia for England, from March 25 to May 24th."

And, "That 135,692 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* ſhould be granted for defraying the charges of the embodied militia for Ireland, during the ſame period."

At the preſent conjuncture of affairs, theſe articles of parliamentary proceeding and financial arrangement attract notice. It is obſerved, that if the chancellor of the exchequer had not ſtrong aſſurance that the definitive treaty would ſoon be concluded, he would not continue to poſtpone mention of the loan; nor would he thus

limit

limit the time of providing for the embodied militia of the united kingdoms.

Thurſday, March 25.—The chancellor of the exchequer defended earl St. Vincent and lord Grey, againſt an inſinuation that at the time they brought for adjudication at Barbadoes two American veſſels, taken in the Weſt Indies, they knew there had been a revocation of the order of council made in 1793, for ſeizing and detaining all ſuch veſſels, which ſhould be found ſailing to the French iſlands. The fact is, under that order they ſailed and acted. But, in 1794, this country and America entered into a treaty of amity; by which it was agreed, that whatever American veſſels had been captured in the Weſt Indies, ſhould be reſtored, and compenſation rendered to the parties injured. With this treaty however earl St. Vincent and lord Grey were not in due time made acquainted. Of courſe, having received no inſtructions to the contrary, they proceeded to obey the original order, under which they ſailed. They took, within the limits deſcribed in the order, two American veſſels, which were condemned as lawful prizes. They are now required to make that compenſation, for which the treaty ſtipulates. The ſum of 45,322*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* is demanded of them. But as

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these gallant and distinguished officers became subject to such claim of restitution, entirely through ignorance that any treaty had superseded the order of council, and in capturing the vessels were on this, as on other occasions, discharging in a signal and vigorous manner their duty to the public, the public is bound in honour to see them indemnified. And for this the chancellor of the exchequer contends, repelling the imputation thrown on two commanders, who rank among the highest for merit and honour in their respective professions, naval and military.

Monday, March 29.—The chancellor of the exchequer gave notice, that on Monday next he should state the terms of the loan, and the taxes for defraying the interest. He informed the house it was his intention to move a repeal of the income tax. When the tax was proposed, he thought it a wise measure, a legitimate source of revenue in time of war; but as peace was restored, it was no longer necessary for him to use that reserve, which he had uniformly adopted, whenever the subject had been mentioned on recent occasions; he should declare therefore, he conceived the tax inapplicable to a time of peace.

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The houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the civil liſt. The chancellor of the exchequer ſpoke to this effect: "Before I proceed to enter on the particulars of the report now on the table, or to refer more immediately to his Majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage, upon which meſſage it is my intention to propoſe a reſolution, I truſt the houſe in a committee will approve of not reſting it entirely on the feelings, honourable as they are, of affection and attachment to his Majeſty, but on thoſe combined conſiderations which cannot fail to make the moſt forcible appeal to the generoſity, the juſtice, and the wiſdom of the houſe. We have now before us a report, containing all the information which it was poſſible for the various offices, connected with his Majeſty's civil liſt, to furniſh. That report contains in itſelf a complete anſwer, to the obſervations and comments of ignorant and diſaffected perſons. It will appear, that a very inconſiderable portion indeed, when compared with all the ſtatements which have been made, is applied to the perſonal uſe and enjoyment of his Majeſty. I hope it will be no longer aſſerted, that his Majeſty enjoys advantages ariſing from income or revenue, beyond thoſe of his illuſtrious predeceſſors."

Having then given a progreſſive and minute detail of the ſeveral amounts at which the civil

lift eftablifhment ftood in former reigns, from that of king William in 1697 to the beginning of his prefent Majefty's; and having alfo intimated that in the reign of George the Firft, application for relief was made to parliament; and with George the Second it was ftipulated that parliament fhould make good any deficiency below 800,000*l.*; he proceeded to obferve—"The conduct of his Majefty in giving up his hereditary rights, and leaving it for parliament to provide the whole of his revenue, has been called by Sir William Blackftone, a proof of the moft difinterefted bounty. In confequence of it, parliament affigned a revenue of 900,000*l.* *per annum*, fubject to life annuities of 70,000*l.* It could not (and indeed it was foretold) it could not happen otherwife than that in the courfe of a long period growing incumbrances would arife, which would render it neceffary for his Majefty to refort for new fupply to the liberality of parliament." The feveral grants in 1769, 1775, 1776, 1784, and 1786, having been enumerated, he comprifed the whole fum, and faid, "there has been granted at different periods to pay off the excefs of the civil lift expences 1,523,511*l.* I would afk whether the fums, which have been granted to his Majefty on account of the arrears of the civil lift, up to the prefent time, when the fituation and circum-

ftances

ſtances of his family are taken into conſideration, and when we advert to the fact that the country, during the whole of the period, has been advancing in wealth and proſperity, is a ſum, which added to the civil liſt of each year in due proportion, was capable of producing a revenue equal to what was enjoyed by Anne, or George the Firſt or Second?"

After ſome remarks on the fair and open manner in which the report was drawn up; and after expreſſing a confident perſuaſion that the committee would diſcover in it not the ſlighteſt imputation of miſmanagement in his Majeſty's houſehold, of corruption in any quarter, or of profuſion in the diſpoſal of any part of the ſum allotted to the expences of the civil liſt; he continued his ſpeech by adding—"Under thoſe heads of charge, which the houſe juſtly views with the greateſt jealouſy, namely, penſions and ſalaries, there has been a very conſiderable reduction. It is impoſſible for any individual, who is obliged to preſerve an appearance of rank, to have been able to do it for ſome late years, out of the ſame income which he poſſeſſed at the period when the preſent civil liſt was granted to his Majeſty. When gentlemen refer to their own experience for the increaſed value of every article in life, during the courſe of the laſt two or three years, and

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when they reflect on all the circumstances of the times, I am sure they will perceive in their own judgments that it is easy to account for the excess. There are several articles, which I feel it incumbent on me to notice particularly. In page 52 it will appear, that part of the debt, is the debt under the first class, including those incurred by the queen, on account of the younger branches of the royal family. When it is considered what is the number, and the time of life of those younger branches; and that the expence on their account falls exclusively to the Queen; it will be no small matter of astonishment that the debt should have amounted to no more than a sum of 28,634*l.* A very large portion of this arose upon the marriage of the Prince of Wales. In the same page will be found a charge for the princess Charlotte. It was made to commence in 1797, though it was not advanced till a later period. I am sure it will be felt by the committee, that it is quite impossible the expence of supporting the princess Charlotte should be borne by the Prince of Wales, considering the restrictions to which he is subject by the act of parliament for arranging the liquidation of his debts."

Some observations on other articles were followed by these concluding words: "I would ask gentlemen, if any there are who wish to animad-

vert on the civil liſt, whether from what they have ſeen or heard, they can refer any part of the expence to wanton profuſion. Have we ſeen any more of the ſplendor of royalty than what we are pleaſed with obſerving? We have ſeen only that degree of ſplendor which belongs to the chief magiſtrate. Sure I am, that the loyal feelings of the country have been rather diſappointed than ſatiated at the diſplay of it exhibited by his Majeſty. It is impoſſible, however, for his Majeſty to maintain that which is neceſſary, if ſome relief is not granted. I am not aware that it is now requiſite for me to enlarge more on the ſubject. I ſhall therefore conclude by moving, That it is the opinion of this Committee the ſum of 990,050*l.* be granted to his Majeſty, to diſcharge the arrears on the debt due and owing on the civil liſt on the 5th of January, 1802."

Mr. Fox having objected to ſome of the articles, contended, that miniſters ſhould be compelled to confine the expence of the civil liſt within its income; and that reſort to parliament for payment of its debts was unconſtitutional.

Mr. Pitt vindicated the articles to which Mr. Fox had objected. He inſiſted on it, there never was ſtated to parliament a caſe of deficiency in the civil liſt, in which its debts were not paid.

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He went farther; he affirmed, there never was a case in every respect so free from suspicion, and so justly meriting the attention of parliament as the present application.

Mr. Tierney did not agree with Mr. Fox in maintaining it as unconstitutional to resort to parliament for the payment of civil list arrears; nor did he coincide in opinion with Mr. Pitt, in approbation of all the articles mentioned in the report. In contradiction to Mr. Fox's principle, he was persuaded it was but just that parliament should have the power of amending the condition of the civil list, whenever it thought proper. From thence he argued for the competency of parliament to investigate the several articles of expenditure, with a view not only to its own satisfaction, but also to that of the people. In his remarks on particulars, he paid some compliments to the chancellor of the exchequer.

The original motion was put. For it 226. Against it 51. Majority for the minister's motion 175.

On the day of this debate, the public was gratified with the following Gazette Extraordinary:

London

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Downing-ſtreet, March 29.

Mr. Moore, aſſiſtant ſecretary to marquis Cornwallis, arrived this morning at nine o'clock, with the definitive treaty of peace, which was ſigned at Amiens at four o'clock in the afternoon on the 27th inſt. by the plenipotentiary of his Majeſty, and by the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic.

Immediately after the publication of this gazette, Mr. Newland read the following letter at the Stock-exchange:

To the Governor, &c. of the Bank.

Gentlemen, Downing-ſtreet, March 28.

I have to requeſt you will cauſe notice to be given at the Stock-exchange, to-morrow morning, that on Wedneſday morning, at eleven o'clock, I ſhall be ready to confer with ſuch gentlemen as may be inclined to make propoſals for entering into a contract for the loan for the public ſervice; and I truſt that I ſhall be honoured with your attendance on that occaſion.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) *H. Addington.*

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It is obſerved, that the early communication made by the miniſter reſpecting the ſignature and arrival of the definitive treaty, prevented ſpeculations in the funds, which were ſteady the whole of Monday 29 inſt.

We have now terminated a defenſive war, into which we were precipitated by the aggreſſion of France, when hoſtilities were commenced againſt the United Provinces, which by the treaties of 1787 and 1788, were allied to Great Britain. In reſiſtance, however, we ſhould otherwiſe have been compelled to engage, by very ſerious apprehenſions for the ſecurity and preſervation of the Britiſh conſtitution. Previouſly to the 1ſt of February, 1793, the day on which the national convention unanimouſly decreed, that the republic of France was at war with Great Britain, and the Stadholder of Holland, the Jacobin party, which was the prevailing democratic faction, (and which derived its name from aſſembling in a place, that was once a religious houſe belonging to the order of Jacobin monks) had correſponded with ſeveral ſocieties in England, and had induſtriouſly propagated throughout this kingdom their fundamental maxim, that the "governed ſhould be excited to rebel againſt their governors."

(Marſh's

(Marſh's Hiſtory of the Politics of Great Britain and France, vol. i p. 199. ed. 1800.)

In the month of October, 1792, the national convention declared itſelf to be "a grand committee of the general inſurrection of the people in the world; whoſe duty it is to diſſolve exiſting governments, and to force that diſſolution on thoſe who are refractory and refuſe the proferred bounty of the French nation." (Miles's Conduct of France towards Great Britain, p. 89. ed. 1793.) On November 19th, 1792, the national convention more openly avowed their plan of ſubverting, if poſſible, every eſtabliſhed government; and with this deſign they paſſed, and ordered to be tranſlated into all the languages of Europe, a decree which purported, "That France was ready to aſſiſt every nation, which was willing to rebel againſt its own government." (Marſh's Hiſt. vol. i. p. 201. Lord Mornington's ſpeech in the houſe of commons, on Jan. 21, 1794, p. 7. Dodſley's Annual Regiſter for 1792, part 2d. State Papers, p. 355. The decree indeed was not written in words correſponding literally with the Engliſh tranſlation given them by Mr. Marſh; but the object of it was ſo palpably notorious, that it was impoſſible for the people of England to miſinterpret its meaning. Briſſot, though himſelf a party concerned

in it, yet acknowledges frankly, in a "letter to his conſtituents," that this decree was ſufficient ground for alarm in other countries. Among other cauſes of the war, he ſtates as the firſt, "The abſurd and impolitic decree of the 19th of November; which very juſtly excited uneaſineſs in foreign cabinets." (Briſſot to his conſtituents, p. 63.) This decree gave confidence to the advocates of jacobiniſm in England. Deputies from many Britiſh ſocieties preſented themſelves before the national convention. Mutual addreſſes paſſed between them; all intimating a hope, that the French form of government would be introduced into England; and that here alſo would be eſtabliſhed a "national convention." (Marſh, vol. i. p. 206.) In the mean time were employed emiſſaries, whoſe buſineſs it was to diſtribute money among the lower orders of people. In London was concerted a plot for a revolution. (Miles reaſons concluſively on the Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament, p. 13. See alſo Dodſley's Ann. Reg. for 1792, part 2d. State Papers, p. 196. Royal Proclamation on Dec. 1, 1792. Marſh. vol. i. p. 223 and 259.) The national convention co-operated with the jacobins in this country, to overthrow our conſtitution. (Marſh. vol. i. p. 227.) On every principle of ſelf-defence, by the

the law of nature, and the law of nations, the government of England would have been juſtified, as by every motive of regard for public weal it was ſtrongly urged, to repel ſuch inſidious and treaſonable machinations, by open hoſtilities againſt the authors of them. Yet forbearance on our ſide was prolonged to the period, at which France paſſed her decree for war. (Miles, Appendix, p. 244.) It is not however to be imagined that war was not in the contemplation of France before that period. The contrary is the fact. "We will fly to their (i. e. *Engliſh republicans)* aid; we will make a deſcent upon that iſland (i. e. England); we will pour in 50,000 caps of liberty; we will plant there the ſacred tree; we will ſtretch out our arms to our republican brethren;"—ſays Monge, the miniſter of the French marine department, in his circular letter, dated 31ſt December, 1792. (Mr. Nicholas Vanſittart's Reflections on the Propriety of an immediate Concluſion of Peace, ed. 1794. p. 15.) The inſtructions given to Genet, the French embaſſador to the American States, were ſigned Jan. 3, 1793. The purport of theſe inſtructions (ſays Mr. Harper, a member of the American congreſs) was "to bring the United States into a war againſt Great Britain." (See Obſervations on the

the Dispute between the United States and France, p. 95. by R. G. Harper, Esquire, one of the representatives of congress.) It is to be observed on these instructions, that they were dated twenty-one days before Chauvelin, the French minister of the national convention, was ordered to quit England; a circumstance which did not happen till Jan. 24, 1793. Yet Chauvelin's dismissal was by France made a pretence for commencing hostilities. This remark is suggested by Mr. Harper; and carries with it the more forcible weight, as that gentleman still unhappily retained American prejudices against Great Britain.

But France, at the time of its attack on Holland, in January 1793, did in effect begin a war with Great Britain. For the rulers of France were acquainted with the treaty of alliance, made in the year 1788, and which subsisted in full force between the United Provinces and this country; an express condition of which treaty is this; "in case of an attack from any European power, to protect each other by sea as well as by land, and reciprocally to guarantee all the countries, places, and privileges, which the contracting parties hitherto possessed," (Marsh, vol. i. p. 241. and p. 255:) the very stipulation, by virtue of which

which the Dutch government "dispatched several couriers to England to demand succour," (Marsh, vol. i. 250.) immediately when it was known the executive council of France had passed a resolution "to deprive the United States of their sovereignty over the Scheldt." (*ibid.* v. i. p. 249.) And in reality, in their aggression against the United Provinces, they intended to provoke and involve England in a war, which they hoped would prove to us disastrous in its consequences. For, if their designs can be known from the speeches delivered in their convention, it is evident they conceived the conquest of Holland would lead to the destruction of British commerce; (Marsh, vol. i. p. 367. Mr. Harper's Observations, p. 94.) and with that view they concerted measures for the fall of Amsterdam.

That war with England was previously intended, there is reason to conclude from that state of preparation, in which their navy appeared, and was in actual service, by the middle of Jan. 1793. (Marsh, vol. i. p. 371.) Such indeed was their activity in preparing to make an attack, that they anticipated Great Britain for a considerable space of time: "England (says Brissot) did not begin to arm till three months after us." (Letter to his Constituents, p. 52.) That the French should

have by the 10th of January "a greater number of ſhips already in commiſſion than were at that time fitting in the Engliſh ports" (Marſh, vol. ii. p. 162.) will not appear extraordinary, when we recollect that the executive council had decided on war with England, "ten weeks before the open declaration of hoſtilities." (Marſh, vol. ii. 157.)

Let us now come to the truth. Whatever pretexts may have apparently been made, (and eighteen were ſpecified in a public declaration; Marſh, vol. ii. 295) whatever reaſons may have profeſſedly been alleged by France, the real motive for her commencing war is found in theſe words of Briſſot: "We muſt ſet fire to the four corners of Europe; in that alone is our ſafety!" (Preface to Briſſot's Letter to his Conſtituents, p. xxxv. Mr. Harper's Obſervations, p. 94.) In which perſuaſion he agreed with Payne's maxim, "that all Europe in inſurrection was the only meaſure which could preſerve their infant liberties." (Miles on the Conduct, &c. p. 175.) a maxim "to be ſupported (ſays Mr. Miles in abhorence of it) at all hazards; at the expence of every thing that is dignified in politics and equitable in morals: at the expence of public faith, and private virtue."

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It will be a natural queſtion for poſterity to aſk, "Of what kind could be thoſe liberties, for the ſecurity and confirmation of which, it was neceſſary to throw all Europe into a ſtate of convulſion?" They were the liberties (or to ſpeak in more correct terms, the licentious outrages) of anarchy; crime; atheiſm: ſuch as no regular government in the world could tolerate; becauſe, as in name they imply, ſo in fact they prove, the diſſolution of all government.

The proximate cauſe of anarchial diſorder, was the murder of their king: which cauſe muſt itſelf be traced back to others, originating in a period thirty years antecedent, and thence gradually operating till the fatal time at which enſued that tragical event.

In the year 1762, among other conditions of the peace at Fontainbleau, it was one, that Canada ſhould be ceded to England. From that time the Americans, who were no longer awed by apprehenſions from a powerful and neighbouring enemy, began to talk loudly of throwing off allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and of aſſerting independence on the Britiſh government. Before three years had elapſed, an incident happened, which called forth very evident indications of their deſign. In the year 1764, Mr Grenville, con-

ſidering the flouriſhing ſtate in which the American commerce was eſtabliſhed, conceived it was now but juſt and reaſonable, that America ſhould pay the expences of her own civil liſt. With this view he propoſed a tax. The American merchants were conſulted on the kind of tax which would be moſt agreeable to their country. A year paſſed; but they returned no anſwer. Mr. Grenville then conſulted Dr. Franklin; and (upon the authority of a late very reſpectable perſon much connected with Mr. Grenville, it is added, as by him it was told this writer) "Dr. Franklin was the man who recommended the ſtamp act;" which was adopted and paſſed in 1765. Tumults and commotions, throughout the Britiſh colonies of North America, were the conſequences of this act. A repeal of it produced tranquillity among the people; from "Montcalm's Letters," however, obſerving perſons did not imagine the leading men would relinquiſh their favourite object of national independence, but would ſtill be intent on aſſerting it, whenever there ſhould occur a fair opportunity for ſo doing. Cordial reconciliation between the two countries never afterwards ſubſiſted. From time to time aroſe new circumſtances, which created reciprocal jealouſies, and occaſioned mutual

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and aggravated recriminations. At length in the year 1775, America was declared to be in a ſtate of rebellion. In 1776, on the 4th day of July, was promulgated the declaration of American independence. In 1778 France joined America in hoſtilities againſt Great Britain! a meaſure of policy weak as it was inſidious, and of no ſmall tendency in preparing the minds of her own ſubjects for the ſubſequent revolutionary proceedings. The troops of France were taught in America, thoſe pernicious doctrines of inſubordination, which might be expected from a people impatient for revenge on the Britiſh government, and enflamed by writings of the moſt ſeditious deſcription; writings, which it was then for the intereſt of the common cauſe to encourage and diſſeminate; but which the wiſdom of congreſs under Waſhington and Adams abhorred and ſuppreſſed, as incompatible with the exiſtence of order, when peace was reſtored and government eſtabliſhed. Fraught with theſe principles the French armies returned to their own country, little diſpoſed to obey the commands of military diſcipline, or to reſpect any longer their ancient laws and once beloved monarch. (See preface to "Hiſtorical Epochs of the French Revolution," written by H. Goudemetz; and, from the moſt humane of

motives, tranſlated by Dr. Randolph, of Bath.) Vergennes, the French miniſter who adviſed the junction, ſoon perceived the miſtake into which he had fallen. He ſaw the adoption of ſentiments inimical to monarchy would inevitably enſue. He repented; but it was too late. The miſchief was done, and was irreparable. "The crown of France, (ſays Goudemetz) as I once heard it emphatically obſerved, was loſt in the plains of America."

During the courſe of events, which were happening in America, had operated widely and with baleful effects, the endeavours of men who at a more early period had begun to ſpread the doctrines of infidelity. Their efforts had been attended with the greater ſucceſs, becauſe the authors, who were ſo aſſiduous in promoting ſcepticiſm and ridiculing chriſtianity, were writers of known and acknowledged genius. It was not ſufficiently conſidered, that genius and reaſon are diſtinct powers of the mind: that ſophiſtry reſults from the perverſion of the one, as ſound argument is deduced from the right exerciſe of the other. It was not conſidered, that ſubtle inſinuations cannot deſtroy poſitive matters of fact; nor ſpeculative difficulties invalidate the evidence of moral certainty built on hiſtorical and circumſtantial truth.

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At the head of thoſe perſons, who employed their talent on a purpoſe ſo infamous, was Voltaire ; a writer, in whoſe PROSE works it is not eaſy to determine whether ignorance, or impudence, or falſehood predominates ; ſo much is there of all. Indeed what elſe but diſingenuity could be expected from a ſwindler ? for ſuch he was, if there were any veracity in Sir John Dalrymple, who in the hearing of him that compiled theſe memoirs, related the following anecdote: "Frederic the Second, of Pruſſia, would often aſk Voltaire, when they were intimate, what the people ſaid of him." After frequent repetitions of this queſtion, Voltaire at length ventured to anſwer, "the people ſpeak well of you in all other reſpects; but blame you for not paying your father's debts." "They ſhall be paid," replied the king. Voltaire ſecretly then went to the ſeveral creditors. He talked with them on the debts reſpectively owed to them. He offered them ſums of inferior amount, if they would engage to let him take his chance for the whole, by endeavouring to recover it. The king ſoon gave orders for diſcharging all creditors : Voltaire availed himſelf of the engagements ; and thus gained himſelf a conſiderable fortune. This tranſ-

action came to the king's knowledge; and never was forgiven."

United with Voltaire in the work of infidelity were Rouſſeau, Diderot, and D'Alembert; names which France will have cauſe to execrate for many ſucceeding ages, as under their hands was conſtructed that repoſitory of irreligion, the French "Encyclopédie." By the inſtrumentality of this and other publications, which, as they came from literati twenty thouſand in number, were infinitely multifarious; the minds of nobles, eccleſiaſtics, ſoldiers, and commonalty, were vitiated in principle.

There were yet other ſources of political, moral, and religious corruption. From "Barruel's Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire du Jacobiniſm," we learn that the inſtitution of free maſonry was perverted from its original and at leaſt innocent, if not beneficial, uſe; and was now made an occaſion for propagating wild theories of equality and liberty. And in "Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy againſt all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the ſecret meetings of Free Maſons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies," we ſee maintained and profeſſed by the reſpective members, principles which juſtify the author's

MAHARAJA

author's title, and which cannot be repeated without creating disgust and exciting abhorrence.

It is probably to the works of Barruel and Robison that the excellent Gisborne in his "Familiar Survey of the Christian Religion" alludes, when he says, "it now appears from an accumulation of unquestionable documents, that the foreign enemies of the gospel, far from limiting their efforts to desultory and unconnected attacks, have during many years been united in one firm, widely extended, and regularly organised confederation, for the express purpose of exterminating by fraud and by force, the name of christianity from off the earth." Ed. 1799, p. 532.

"Equality" and "liberty" are terms which in every Briton raise lively sensations of the most generous kind. But then he thorougly understands the import of those words, and affixes to them proper, because rational, ideas. He conceives the true import of equality to be this: "that every member of society is bound by equality of obligation to discharge the duties of his station, whatever it might be; and that he has an equality of claim on society, for protection to his person; security to his property; and impartial administration of justice." (Equality of obligation is a subject well discussed in a work of

of much and juſt reflection, entitled an "Eſſay on the Natural Equality of men," by Dr. Brown, of Utrecht, ch. 5. ed. 1794.) By "liberty" he means, "the power of acting according to his own diſcretion, ſo far as may be conſiſtent with the welfare of others, and ſo far as may be compatible with the obedience he owes to the eſtabliſhed laws of that ſociety to which he belongs."

But the original propagators of "equality" and "liberty" in Germany and France interpreted theſe words in a very different manner. With them, "equality" was preciſely that "Æquatio bonorum" of which Cicero ſays, "quâ peſte quæ poteſt eſſe major," (Off. 2. 21.) "than which deſtructive curſe what can be greater"—it was that overthrow of equity, concerning which the ſame moraliſt remarks, "there is an end of all equity, if every one is not allowed to enjoy his own property."—(Æquitatem,) "quæ tollitur omnis, ſi habere ſuum cuique non licet," (2. 22.) it was reducing all mankind to the ſame level, ſo as to deſtroy all ſubordination; and diſtributing equally among all the members of ſociety every ſort and kind of property and poſſeſſion. And "liberty," according to their conception, was the exerciſe of his will in every individual, uncontrouled by any other reſtric-

tions,

tions, than thoſe which his own mind might chooſe to impoſe. Of "equality" and "liberty" thus viewed, it may confidently be affirmed, not only that they never have exiſted, but alſo that they never can exiſt in human ſociety, ſo long as man retains the eſſential and characteriſtic qualities of his nature. Yet in theſe acceptations were the words taken by the democratic party of France, who taught the multitude they were juſtified in aſſerting their natural right to ſuch "equality" and ſuch "liberty," by the lawleſs rapine, the cruel proſcriptions, the horrible maſſacres, which ſoon followed the commencement, and continued to mark the progreſs of the revolution.

For cauſes, which prediſpoſed the people of France for ſuch a revolution, we need look no further. In the facts, reſpecting America and the zealots for infidelity, equality, and liberty, which have already been noticed, an attentive obſerver will find circumſtances, the influence of which was ſufficient for producing a change of ſentiments throughout the French nation. And, in reality, it was under the impreſſion of ſuch change, that the ſtates general met in 1789; which ſufficiently accounts for the ſubſequent proceedings.

The

The last precedent for custom to be observed in the states general was in 1614. The mode of proceeding on that occasion was, that the three orders of the state, namely, the nobles, clergy, and commons, should meet in three separate chambers, and vote by orders; not individually, or by heads, as it was termed. In 1789, the King's minister Neckar threw out a hint, that possibly there might be an union of the three orders, so that all the deputies might meet in one and the same assembly, and in this consolidated body the whole power of the states might reside. It is material in this place to observe, that what fell from Neckar was nothing more than a hint that such concentration might be possible. It did not amount even to an opinion of the propriety in adopting the measure; much less did it pretend either to urge, or command this novel system. The manner therefore in which this intimation was distantly given, left the nobles and clergy at perfect liberty either to follow, or to deviate from ancient practice, as might be judged most expedient by their own discretion. The commons however were so earnest for effecting this union, that they would not acquiesce in former precedent; but concerted a plan, which should force the other orders into a consolidation calculated

for abſorbing and annihilating the power of the nobility and clergy. Had the commons not been actuated by a ſpirit of uſurpation, they would either have been ſatisfied with the conſtitutional form of primitive uſage; or they would have proceeded no farther than to a ſtrong declaration of their wiſhes, that the three orders ſhould be united. If to thoſe wiſhes the nobles and clergy had not thought it either expedient or deſirable to accede, the commons on principles of national juſtice, could not be authorized in dictating and demanding compliance with pretenſions, which immediately went to the degradation, and would ultimately tend to deſtroy all the weight and power of the two other reſpective orders. The nobles and clergy were equally with the commons under the ſanction and protection of national law; and by that law were equally free as the commons, to exerciſe their own judgment on political and public queſtions; and equally concerned as the commons, to maintain the privileges derived to them from their anceſtors and predeceſſors. But the truth is, the more violent, which was alſo the more numerous part of the commons, were prepared for ſubverting the national law, even at the expence of juſtice to the other orders of the ſtate: and the

veracity

veracity of this aſſertion no one can doubt, who will but recollect the following particulars. Having aſſumed to themſelves the title firſt of national and then of conſtitutional aſſembly, the commons proceeded thus;—they uſurped to themſelves legiſlative authority: called to their aid the phyſical ſtrength of an undiſcerning multitude, to intimidate, inſult, and injure thoſe members, who were moderate in their ſentiments: taught the maxim that "inſurrection was a ſacred duty:" aboliſhed all titles and feudal rights: publiſhed a "declaration of the rights of man," the very firſt ſentence of which contains a palpable and notorious falſehood: ſeized the whole eccleſiaſtical revenue, and domains of the crown: ſtripped the king of his prerogatives: diſbanded his body guards: converted the church of St. Genevieve into a pantheon: diveſted the king of all his royal appendages: and obliged him to accept of a conſtitution imperfect and inefficient, a conſtitution which left him without power to protect either himſelf or his ſubjects. The fact is, they purpoſely degraded the king, by placing him in a condition of dependence and imbecility.

When the tiers-etat had retained the exerciſe of ſupreme power till the expiration of two years, a ſecond, called the legiſlative aſſembly ſucceeded

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the national, or conftituent affembly. Under this affembly, religious worfhip was prohibited: under the fame all pedigrees were burnt: under the fame, Manuel caufed an oath to be taken, in a fitting of the jacobins, that every exertion fhould be ufed to purge the earth of the peft of royalty: and, to mention but one circumftance more, under the fame, "from the 2d to the 9th of this month (Sept. 1792) the moft horrid outrages were perpetrated without ceafing; 7605 prifoners, &c. inhumanly murdered, and the affaffins publicly demanded their wages. Every houfe was a fcene of difmay. Maffacres and butcheries were committed in all the prifons and religious houfes." Goudemetz thus relates the horrible event: an event which even Briffot fhuddered to recollect. For, fpeaking of a general's being fent to the prifon called the "Abbaye," he exclaims, "to the Abbaye! the very name of which place, in recalling to memory that dreadful day of 2d of September, muft freeze the heart of the boldeft and moft virtuous man!" (Briffot to his Conftituents, p. 62.)

The third legiflature began its fitting on Sept. 20, 1792, and took to itfelf the title of national convention. It was by that convention France was decreed to be a republic: by that was heard

with

with applauſe a diſcourſe on atheiſm, pronounced by the unbluſhing and hardened Dupont: by that, in direct contradiction to the expreſs letter of their new conſtitution, a king who was remarkable for the humanity of his diſpoſition; who even before the meeting of the ſtates general, had introduced many regulations for the happineſs of his people; who, when accuſed, defended himſelf with ſuch firmneſs and candour, as proved him innocent of the charges alleged againſt him; by the national convention, was ſuch a king, and under ſuch circumſtances, which aggravated the guilt of his deſtroyers, murdered, moſt cruelly murdered! a cataſtrophe which happened on Jan 21ſt, 1793.

We have ſeen that the depravity of the national convention was carried to ſuch a height of abandoned profligacy, as even to receive with marks of public approbation, an avowed profeſſion of unqualified atheiſm! From a body of men thus immerſed in wickedneſs, what crimes was there not reaſon to expect! Atheiſm, as it defies God, ſo it tramples on man. It ſmothers all the fine feelings of humanity; and ſteels the heart for the unappalled perpetration of the moſt atrocious crimes. (Let him, who doubts this, read the notes on Dr. Parr's affecting and learned ſpittal

Sermon,

Sermon, preached in 1801; and particularly Mr. Hall's Sermon on "Modern Infidelity," preached at a Baptift meeting. It is interefting and impreffive.) Three months had not elapfed, before Robertfpierre demanded that liberty be eftablifhed on the ruin of all ariftocracies; and but few days beyond three months, when Danton propofed it fhould be lawful to kill any perfons hoftile to the revolution, wherever they might be found. In the September following, it was decreed, with a view of obliterating the fabbath, that the common æra fhould no longer be ufed; but a new mode of dividing days and years, called the republican calendar, fhould be adopted: and in the month of October, every external fign of religion was abolifhed. Maffacre upon maffacre in the mean time was committed: and the members of the convention by turns were the victims of their own fanguinary decrees, and brought on themfelves juft vengeance for their unparalleled enormities.

The reader may now form fome adequate conception of thofe liberties, in fupport of which the whole world was to be convulfed. Againft England, the conftitution of which was infidioufly undermining for the purpofe of introducing fuch infatuated mifrule, and which therefore on every

principle of ſelf-preſervation was bound to repel her moſt dangerous enemies, who had made revolt in all nations a common cauſe; againſt England which moreover ſaw herſelf attacked through the ſides of her allies, by whoſe fall France had hoped to ruin Britiſh commerce; againſt this country, becauſe ſhe reſented the inſolence of the convention in attempting to diſturb our internal government, and in graſping at aſcendency by violating the laws of nations; the uſurper of Seringapatam was ſtirred up in Aſia; and the congreſs, ſometimes by flattery, and ſometimes by menaces, ſolicited to take up arms of confederacy in America. Without any other cauſe of provocation given by the Turk, than that he retained fidelity to his friend and ally, Africa was invaded in her Egyptian provinces. And with equal injuſtice towards many other ſtates, the only offence of which was their natural wiſh not to exchange their own for the French conſtitution; not to ſurrender their independence for ſubjection to the national convention; the continent of Europe was deluged with ſuch ſtreams of blood, and ſtrewn with ſuch heaps of carnage, as it has not witneſſed ſince the days of the irruption by the Goths and Vandals, thoſe "deſtroyers of nations, (See Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V.

vol.

vol. i. p. 10. ed. 8vo.) in the fourth and fifth centuries.

At length, after a ſeries of eight years, Buonaparte has checked the fury of France, and compelled it to give the world repoſe. The inſtrument, by which he has accompliſhed this end, is indeed of all others the leaſt ſuitable to us who know the nature, and are qualified for the enjoyment of real liberty; yet is it the only one which is fit and applicable to the French nation under its preſent circumſtances. By the irreſiſtible power of military deſpotiſm, and by that alone, has Buonaparte cruſhed "the tyranny of a licentious, ferocious, and ſavage multitude, without laws, manners, or morals; and which, ſo far from reſpecting the general ſenſe of mankind, inſolently endeavoured to alter all the principles and opinions which have hitherto guided and contained the world; and to force them into a conformity to their views and actions." (Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," p. 17.)

That inordinate ambition and democratic faction, after various ſtruggles and revolutionary conflicts, ſhould finally be ſubjugated under armed coercion, is a circumſtance by no means extraordinary. The ſame event happened among our anceſtors under Cromwell; the ſame at

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Rome under Auguſtus Cæſar. And Polybius, who was prior to the times of the great civil wars, when ſpeaking of ochlocracy, or government by the multitude, has this remark: "they run together in tumultuous aſſemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; aſſaſſinations, baniſhments, and diviſions of land: till being reduced at laſt to a ſtate of ſavage anarchy, they once more find a maſter and a monarch, and ſubmit themſelves to arbitrary ſway." (Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. p. 11.) How ſtriking and appoſite an illuſtration of his remark would the judicious hiſtorian have found in the people of France, had he lived in theſe days!

We would now quit the ſubject. But if even an enemy, who began to view with horror the ſcenes of deſolating ravage opened to his ſight; if a remarkable foreigner alſo, arguing from common principles of univerſal juſtice, can read us a leſſon of moral and political inſtruction; "Ne qua moræ fuerint diſpendia tanti," let us not think delay too dearly purchaſed; let us not deem our time ill employed; if we hear them on the ſubject of ORDER, and of PROPERTY.

"I conceived (ſays Briſſot) that this doctrine of ORDER, was as good, and more uſeful for the citizen who does *not* poſſeſs any thing, than for the citizen who poſſeſſes property. Becauſe, the firſt

first can live only by his constant labour; and, that there can be no constant work where there is not a constant safety, both of life and all property, to the rich. I thought then, that the truest enemies of the people and of the republic, were the anarchists, the preachers up of an *agrarian law*, the instigators of sedition." (Letter to his Constituents, p. 67.)

"The moment (says Adams) the idea is admitted in society, that PROPERTY is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence. If THOU SHALT NOT COVET, and THOU SHALT NOT STEAL, were not commandments of heaven, they must be made inviolable precepts in every society, before it can be civilized or made free." (Defence of Constitutions, &c. vol. iii. lett. 6. p. 217. ed. 1778.)

Enough however of reflection. As we have proved that their unjustifiable attack on the Dutch; their treasonable endeavours to overturn our government in the time of professed peace; their premeditated design of making war on England; and their actual prior declaration of hostilities; all fix on the French the charge of aggression; let us conclude the subject with this fervent prayer: "That warned by the awful example of

 France,

France, Great Britain may never wiſh to depart from her conſtitution; nor to withdraw itſelf from the moral light and ſpiritual guidance of the CHRISTIAN religion."

Wedneſday, March 31.—Mr. Manners Sutton again called the attention of the houſe to the Prince of Wales's claims on the revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall. He wiſhed the houſe would appoint a committee to enquire what ſums had been paid from thoſe revenues; and who the perſons were that had received them; from the time his royal highneſs was born, till the period at which he was of age: and to aſcertain, both in what way, part, or parts, thoſe ſums had been applied; and alſo, the amount of ſums advanced to his royal highneſs himſelf, from the period of his coming of age, to June 5, 1795. Having thus ſtated the object of his motion, he introduced a learned and curious hiſtory of the ſeveral grants, by which thoſe revenues were in different reigns veſted in the ſeveral ſucceſſive princes of Wales. In the courſe of his ſpeech he took occaſion to obſerve, "the preſent queſtion is not between his Majeſty and the Prince. The King has not received any of the revenues; nor have they in any reſpect been ap-

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plied to his ufe." He thought, however, the public had derived benefit from them, and therefore fhould reimburfe his royal highnefs. Whatever was fo reimburfed, the Prince would apply to the difcharge of his debts.

The chancellor of the exchequer entered into fome legal difcuffions refpecting the inveftment of thofe revenues in the princes of Wales. He obferved alfo, "that with refpect to the queftion, whether the public had received the rents of the duchy, it certainly was one of extreme importance. He would afk, what proof there was that any part of the revenues had been fo applied? Where were the journals of parliament in which fuch appropriation could be found? True it was, that in the year 1771, there had been prefented an account of feveral fums paid during the minority of the Prince of Wales, from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, by warrant from the lords of the treafury, and applied in aid of the civil lift. The amount of thefe fums was £.94,000; and the head under which it was entered was that of fpecial fervices. But it did not always follow, that fums paid for fpecial fervices, were applied for the ufe of the public. He was entitled to call upon gentlemen, who contended the claim was againft the public, to fhew the ground on

which they founded their aſſertion. It was material that the real ſtate of the advances to his royal highneſs out of the civil liſt ſhould be known. The aggregate of theſe ſums, in the courſe of twelve years, was £. 128,420. beſides extraordinaries, to the amount of £. 50,552. Having contraſted the payments made out of the civil liſt with the ſums received by his Majeſty from the duchy of Cornwall, according to an account then lying on the table, he ſtated the balance in favour of his royal highneſs to be of very conſiderable amount. He obſerved, the houſe muſt be highly gratified, by being aſſured that the Prince of Wales had declared his intention of applying in payment of his debts, whatever ſhould be found due to him. He was one of thoſe, who did not think a ſufficient allowance had been made to his royal highneſs in the firſt inſtance, when he came of age. With reſpect to the debts contracted by his royal highneſs, from his own perſonal knowledge he could undertake to ſay, there never was a ſubject on which had been made more groſs and ſcandalous miſrepreſentations, than had paſſed on them. To return, however, to the queſtion of right: he admitted, that a guardian was not at liberty to expend the income of a minor, without duly accounting for

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ſuch expenditure; but in the preſent caſe it was neceſſary to conſider the circumſtances, which attended the creation of the duchy of Cornwall. When his Majeſty, King Edward the Third, expreſſed his intention of detaching from the crown the moſt valuable part of his poſſeſſion, as an eſtabliſhment to ſupport the dignity of his ſon, the Prince of Wales, he never could have intended to put him into the poſſeſſion and receipt of ſuch immenſe revenues, and at the ſame time ſupport him during his minority. Under this view of the caſe, and under other circumſtances attending it, he did not think himſelf juſtified in recommending the adoption of the motion before the houſe; even if it were not exceptionable, as however it was, on account of its combining two objects in their nature diſtinct. If in this country there exiſted a wrong, the law provided means of redreſs. It ought, therefore, to be aſcertained, whether the wrong, of which his royal highneſs complained, was a wrong for which there was, or was not, a legal remedy. If redreſs could not be had elſewhere, then application to parliament would be proper. But till an appeal for redreſs had been made before a legal tribunal, competent to grant it, he felt it impoſſible for him, conſiſtently with his duty, to ſanction a motion which

which called on the houſe to interfere judicially, to interfere in a way by no means conſonant with that which was its primary and diſtinguiſhing character, its legiſlative capacity. Nothing but neceſſity could juſtify parliament in judicial interference. Under this conception, he ſhould conclude by moving the order of the day."

Mr. Erſkine ſupported the original motion.

The maſter of the rolls obſerved, there was to this motion one radical objection, which no degree of ingenuity could remove. "It propoſed to erect a committee of that houſe, into a tribunal for the diſcuſſion of a point of law, and thus to confound the legiſlative and judicial authority; a connection, which by the precedent it would eſtabliſh, muſt be productive of incalculable miſchief." That houſe had properly no concern with the ſubject; it was altogether a legal queſtion, for the conſideration of the courts below; and no motive of reſpect or regard for any individual could juſtify the houſe in interfering with it. This was the only cauſe of his oppoſition to the motion. It was either a claim of right; or, it was not. It could have no middle denomination."

When Mr. Fox had replied, the attorney general read the words of the charter, by which the

the duchy of Cornwall was originally granted to the Prince of Wales; thence proving that the grant was made by Edward III. for the maintenance and ſupport of the princely dignity and ſtate of the Prince of Wales.

The chancellor of the exchequer's motion for the order of the day, was put—

Ayes 160 | Noes 103—Majority 57;

of courſe Mr. Sutton's was loſt.

A deputation from thoſe gentlemen, who were diſpoſed to bid for the enſuing loan, waited this day on Mr. Addington. The liſts were not fewer than ſeven; a number highly creditable to the miniſter, and to the country.

The terms of the loan propoſed were,

For every £.100 ſterling—65 Conſol. Annuity.
60 Red. Ditto.

The bidding to be made on the ſmalleſt quantity of a three per cent. deferred ſtock, to be incorporated with the conſols, on Jan. 5, 1808, and to bear no intereſt till that time. The reaſon is, that in 1808, the ſhort annuities fall in, amounting to - - - - - - - - - - £. 418,995
and in the courſe of 1806 and 1807, Exchequer Annuities fall in, to the amount of - - - - - - - - 82,000

making

making a ſum of more than £.500,000. for which taxes were already provided, and which might be a proviſion for this new ſtock.

The idea of deferred ſtock, is thought to have been borrowed from the American government.

The miniſter intimated his deſign of departing in ſome degree from Mr. Pitt's principle with regard to the ſinking funds. It was originally propoſed, that when the old ſinking fund ſhould amount to four millions, all the growing produce beyond that, ſhould be applied to the repeal of the moſt burthenſome taxes. It is now intended, that the old and new ſinking funds ſhall be conſolidated, and proceed without any abatement of taxes, till the national debt is annihilated; an event, which may be effected in the courſe of 45 years, even although we ſhould in the interval borrow an additional £.100,000,000.

That the national debt ſhould be ſo far diminiſhed, as that taxes may be lighter, and the country be enabled on any emergency either to raiſe ſupplies within the year, or to borrow on advantageous terms, is a bleſſing moſt earneſtly to be deſired. But that the national debt ſhould ever be extinguiſhed, is much to be deprecated. For in the firſt place, monied men would find it difficult to ſubſtitute a mode on which to em-

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ploy their capitals, without trouble to themſelves or riſk to their fortunes. In the next place, commerce, and conſequently wealth, would rapidly decline: for induſtry, which is the main ſpring, the life, and ſoul of commerce, would ſlacken as commodities and neceſſaries became cheaper through exemption from taxes. Then again, and a circumſtance of very weighty conſideration it is, the middle ranks of ſociety would be much more indifferent to the welfare of the country. In thoſe ranks we commonly find the creditors of the ſtate. So long as the ſtate is indebted to its ſubjects, thoſe ſubjects are intereſted in the ſupport of it. But take away the cauſe, which excites in the individual an anxiety for public welfare as connected with his own immediate proſperity, and he feels little concerned for its ſituation. It was ſaid of Ireland "the miſfortune of that country is, it has no national debt." The remark appeared paradoxical: yet upon examination it was found pregnant with political wiſdom. It implied, "the ſubjects of Ireland are not individually intereſted in its welfare."

Friday, April 2.—Notice was given at the Stock-exchange, that the ſum wanted by way of loan for the ſervices of the current year, would

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be 26 million and a half: of which, one million and a half was to be raiſed in Ireland, for the ſervice of that country. As the loan was for leſs money than had been expected, ſtocks roſe one per cent.

Sunday, April 4.—On this day died the right hon. lord Kenyon; who from the year 1788 to the preſent time, filled the dignified and important ſtation of lord chief juſtice in the King's Bench. It has been ſaid of him, he never could be tempted from his buſineſs to ſee a play, and that he never had been a ſpectator of any one theatrical exhibition. This is a rare inſtance of aſſiduity, if the fact were really as it is related. But however that may be, of his ability he gave very evident proofs during a long courſe of practice as a pleader. When he was advanced to judicial rank, firſt as maſter of the rolls in 1784, and then as chief juſtice, he acquitted himſelf with the moſt impartial and inflexible integrity. Juſt, upright, and virtuous himſelf, he would neither bow to the depravities of faſhion, nor bend to the iniquities of vice. That, which the Greek hiſtorian required in his Egyptian judge, was found in lord Kenyon, "He carried about him the image of TRUTH impreſſed on his very ſoul." (Ælian Var. Hiſt. 14. 34.)

Monday, April 5.—With Meſſrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, who of the various competitors agreed to take the ſmalleſt quantity of deferred ſtock, were ſettled theſe terms of the loan, viz.

	£.	s.	d.	
For every £.100 ſterling - - - - - -	65	0	0	Conſols.
	60	0	0	Reduced.
	6	19	3	Deferred Stock.
	131	19	3	

The miniſter, on the ſame day, communicated theſe terms to the houſe of commons. In ſubmitting which he ſaid, "I ſhould conſider myſelf as unneceſſarily engaging the time of the committee, if I detained them too long upon a ſubject which affords ſuch ſolid grounds of general ſatisfaction. But I cannot help congratulating the country on the ſubſtantial proofs of confidence thus given by the monied intereſt; and I feel myſelf called upon to obſerve, that it is to the energy and perſeverance uniformly diſplayed by this houſe, ſupported by the ſpirit and exertions of a great people, that the public are indebted for this confidence."

The WAYS and MEANS were brought forward. The new ſtock, for which intereſt muſt be provided, was—

Stock,

Stock, created by loan -	£.30,351,375	0
— by funding exchequer bills in the course of the winter -	11,138,062	10
— charged upon the income tax, now to be repealed - -	56,445,000	0
	97,934,437	10
The interest on which amounts to	3,211,202	0

For the payment of which interest were proposed additional taxes on

Malt, hops, and beer, producing -	£. 2,000,000
Assessed taxes - - - - - - - -	1,000,000
Duty on exports and imports - -	1,000,000
	4,000,000

Which would leave a surplus of nearly 800,000 the application of which might afterwards be considered.

On mentioning the repeal of the income tax, Mr. Addington declared he should be extremely sorry if he could suppose any gentleman would impute to him any unworthy motive, by which his conduct was actuated. He assured the house the step he was about to take in this particular, was the result of his own thoughts. The conclusions he had formed for a considerable time, he had not confined within his own breast; but had communicated them to others, who, if necessary, would

would atteſt his aſſertion: and he was ſure the hon. gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Tierney) would do him the juſtice to ſay, that in January laſt he ſpoke with reſerve on that ſubject, and begged that no inference might be drawn as to the courſe which might be thought adviſable for the executive government to purſue. All he ſaid, or meant to ſay in January, was to this effect; that the income tax was a meaſure much too important for the houſe to relinquiſh during a continuance of the war; and he believed the hon. gentleman clearly underſtood him, when he made this intimation. He ſhould be ſorry alſo, if the meaſure he was about to adopt, ſhould be conſtrued into a change of his opinion reſpecting the policy of continuing the tax had the war continued. Upon that ſubject, he knew he differed from many hon. members of the houſe, for whoſe judgment he had great reſpect, and for whoſe principles he had great eſteem: he differed alſo from many very worthy and intelligent individuals in the country. He was however bound to declare his opinion; and to add, it was his entire and thorough conviction, that it was to the wiſdom whence originated the income tax, and to the firmneſs, which induced the houſe to perſiſt in it, that the country was indebted for

the comfort we now enjoyed: for, that system it was, which enabled us to surmount the difficulties, with which during the last three years we were obliged to struggle. The same conviction of its efficient utility as a war tax, induced him to recommend the removal of this burthen from the public in time of peace. A tax of this nature should be reserved for the most pressing occasions: occasions, which he trusted were far distant, but which however might hereafter occur, and for them therefore we should always be ready to provide. In that sense of the matter, he should always look to this mode of raising supplies; to be carried into effect, not indeed under the present regulations, but by some, though not very dissimilar alterations. It was worthy the credit, it was worthy the character of this country, to look forward to such a resource, in the painful event of being compelled to struggle for its honour, and to maintain its independence against hostile force; and at a time, when, if called upon to exert all its powers and to put forth all its faculties, the country would not be found wanting to itself.

When Mr. Addington had expressed himself thus fully on the income tax, and had laid before the committee the various articles for which sup-

plies were neceſſary, and the WAYS and MEANS by which ſuch ſupplies could be raiſed, he concluded a long financial ſpeech in words to this effect: "I look back on the conduct of this houſe and of the country, during the laſt nine years, with pride and ſatisfaction: I look forward, with hope: I am convinced, that by prudence and vigilant œconomy (reſpecting which however I make no profeſſions, deſiring only to be judged of by my conduct) I am convinced, that by a firm and temperate ſyſtem we may promiſe to ourſelves ſecurity and comfort. This muſt be the wiſh of every member in this houſe, and of every man in this country, who feels an ardour for national welfare. To enſure our advantages, we ſhould adopt, to uſe the words of my noble friend, the ſecretary of ſtate (lord Hawkeſbury) a ſyſtem of conciliation and firmneſs; by which we may preſerve the bleſſings of peace. They are to be preſerved, not by inſulting the honour of other nations; not by invading their ſecurities; not by violating or queſtioning the independence of other nations; but by feeling the bleſſings of peace at home, and by being prepared to vindicate and maintain them. Under theſe impreſſions, I am fully perſuaded that this ſyſtem duly followed, will continue to afford a well-grounded hope of

 tranquillity

tranquillity and eafe, as well as profperity and independence. The evils of war, I hope, and am confident, have ceafed to operate on us. This confideration however, fhould not induce us to forget the maxims of our true policy. I mean not that we fhould follow a fyftem of jealoufy; *that* I truft we fhall never purfue; but I do recommend a well directed and well regulated fyftem of prudence and caution. It is by this, and this only, we can continue to enjoy thofe bleffings in the poffeffion of which our country is fo eminently happy."

Mr. Whitbread reprobated the income tax; difapproved of the additional duty on beer; and contended, that no one object, for which we had entered on the late war, had been attained.

To this laft affertion Mr. Addington replied, "they had attained the objects of the war; for they had gained all they had not loft."

Mr. Pitt defended the income tax; and adduced it as an inftance of national profperity— "that at the end of nine years of a war unexampled in its nature and extent, we had made a loan for twenty-five millions, at the very fame price of ftocks at which, in the year 1793, the firft year of the war, we made a loan for only four millions."

Tuefday,

Tuesday, April 6.—Thanks to the army, navy, militia, and fencibles were moved, in the house of lords by lord Hobart; in the commons by Mr. Addington. "He rose to offer certain resolutions, which he was confident would receive the unanimous concurrence of that house, as the object of them was to render a just tribute of national gratitude to the exertions of those brave men, who had been fighting for their country abroad; and to the no less meritorious, though perhaps less brilliant services of those, who with arms in their hands, had defended it at home. He would make no distinction between the army and navy: the zeal of both had been equal, the glory of both was unsullied. Yet if thanks were conferred on the army and navy alone, the house might still be charged with ingratitude; for the merit of the fencibles would be omitted, though their conduct in the late war was entitled to every praise. They had enlarged the extent of their services in proportion to the public exigences: and instead of limiting their aid to the immediate defence of England alone, they had voluntarily offered to give their assistance in Ireland; and indeed even in the remotest parts, where their attendance and efforts might be thought requisite and useful. The militia also,

a clafs of the military, which the country had always regarded with particular affection, had never at any former period fo highly entitled itfelf to that affection. He would not fpeak of thofe privations, which through the courfe of a nine years war the officers muft have endured, in a long abfence from their refpective homes, and a total neglect of their private affairs. In former wars, the militia had acquired marked honours: but in that which was juft terminated, their merits had taken a wider range. Ireland attefted their zeal; and the country was indebted to them for a moft important and feafonable difcovery—(the Irifh rebellion). Convinced, as he was, that the houfe appreciated the fervices of thefe men equally high as himfelf did, and that nothing, which he could fay, could add to the fenfe entertained of them, he would content himfelf with moving in one general and comprehenfive form, "that the thanks of the houfe be given to the army and navy, for their meritorious conduct during the war."

Lord Hawkefbury feconded the motion. He was perfuaded, that however gentlemen might differ in opinion refpecting the war itfelf, yet all would agree in allowing there never was a period, in which Britifh valour was more eminently con-

ſpicuous, or was diſplayed with more honour to the country. He ſhould waſte the time of the houſe, if in that view he compared the late with former wars. He ſhould content himſelf with ſaying, that in no war had the exertions of the navy been ſo brilliant and ſucceſsful. The exertions of the army likewiſe, at every ſeaſon of the war, had been no leſs the ſubjects of commendation and praiſe. There had been no opportunity for theſe exertions on which they had not gained great honour to their country. He would mention, with particular exultation, their exertions during the laſt campaign in Egypt; exertions which had moſt materially conduced to the procuring of peace.

The chancellor of the exchequer again ſpoke. In mentioning the militia, he hoped the houſe would not conceive either that he meant to omit, or that he had forgotten the militia of Ireland. They had acted in the moſt loyal, ſpirited, and conſtitutional manner, during the whole of the rebellion; and by their ready offer to come from Ireland to this country, when England was threatened with invaſion, they had deſerved the warmeſt thanks of every perſon, who wiſhed well to both kingdoms. The ſame tribute of praiſe was due alſo to the loyalty, activity, and zeal,

 which

which ſtimulated the exertions of the Iriſh yeomanry.

The thanks of the houſe were then voted "to the officers of the army, navy, marines, the ſeveral corps of militia, yeomanry, volunteer cavalry and infantry, both in England and Ireland." To which vote, it was added, "that the houſe do highly approve, and acknowledge the ſervices of the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, in all the ſaid corps; and it is deſired that the ſame ſhould be communicated to them by the ſeveral officers belonging to each corps."

Wedneſday, April 7.—Sir William Scott moved that the houſe ſhould go into a committee on the ſtatute of Henry VIII. enforcing the reſidence of the clergy.

In a ſpeech of much learning, clearneſs, and candour, he entered into a hiſtory of the principle and policy, on which was originally grounded the act, impoſing a penalty on clergymen, who were non-reſident for the ſpace of one month in a year. He obſerved, "it was a law ſevere and unjuſt in the extreme. At the period in which it was enacted, the penalty was equal to the annual value of very many benefices throughout the country; and conſequently on many occaſions,

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if a minifter, who had conducted himfelf with the utmoft propriety, and with the moft confcientious attention to the duties of his office for eleven months fucceffively, fhould, during the other month, have been neceffarily called from his refidence by confiderations of any, even the moft interefting and endearing nature, he muft have forfeited the whole annual amount of his living. A ftatute, which at its commencement had been capable of producing fuch an effect was one which muft have been founded on an unwife principle of legiflation, and ought no longer to be fanctioned by parliament. The clergy had at all times been the warmeft friends, and the moft zealous fupporters of the ftate; at no time more fo, than at the prefent. In the body of clergy, were men of genius, men of learning, men of elegant education; many too were connected with the firft families in the kingdom. Such was the character and refpectability of all, that they fhould not be fubjected to harfh and irritating proceffes of law. It would be more advifable, that the regulation of fuch a body fhould be left to the fuperiors of that body; who might be invefted with a power fomewhat difcretionary; yet not fo difcretionary as to be without controul, partly by limitations to be fpecified

ſpecified in a new act, and partly by appeal to other and higher powers."

Of appreciating the beneficial and ſalutary effects derived to the nation from the body of its clergy, there ſeldom has been preſented an opportunity more ample or ſerious, than in the late conflict between paſſion and principle, ignorance and wiſdom, ſophiſtry and reaſon, iniquity and juſtice, anarchy and order, atheiſm and religion. That the clergy ſtood firm in ſupport of the more loyal, conſtitutional, right, and ſacred cauſe; that by their immediate example, and immediate advice, they encouraged others, each within his own ſphere, to reſiſt with perſeverance the progreſs of intellectual, moral, and political evil, many have acknowledged. But there is yet another inſtance of ſignal ſervice, which deſerves to be noticed. They had been previouſly inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing the ground-work of all that ſound judgment and unſhaken firmneſs, which alike dignified and preſerved our legiſlature. The clergy are the chief conductors of education. Under them were trained to lofty ſentiment, virtuous actions, and genuine patriotiſm, the greater part of thoſe illuſtrious ſenators, who under providence, and in cooperation with the energy and diſpoſition of the country, by their counſels and laws delivered

livered us from the devaſtations of democracy, and from ſubjugation to the ſavage tyranny of enemies inſatiable as they were mercileſs. The foundation of that ſenſe, diſcretion, rectitude, ſpirit, boldneſs, concern for national ſafety, love for their king and country, and reſolution in national defence, which under the moſt trying circumſtances thoſe ſenators diſplayed, was ſtrengthened at that period of their life, when the clergy were their inſtructors: inſtructors, not after the ſpecious but feeble mode of ſubſtituting frivolous for ſolid and manly attainments of MIND; but in the more ultimately beneficial and vigorous plan; the plan, which by GRADUALLY communicating knowledge in literature, in ſcience, and CHRISTIAN religion; by giving the mind leiſure for digeſting what has been taught; by frequently exerciſing its thinking and reflecting faculties, by maturing and confirming its various powers; prepared and ſent into public life ſome of our greateſt ſtateſmen; and we truſt, in deſpite of faſhion for moſt contemptible *prettyneſſes*, will continue to ſend forth thouſands of men, enlightened in their underſtandings, ſagacious in their foreſight, ſober in their judgments, induſtrious in buſineſs, upright in their views, firm and ſound in their principles

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civil and religious, and exemplary in their manners; ſuch men, as will be qualified to fill every department of the ſtate, with credit to themſelves, and advantage to the nation.

Not unconnected with the ſubjects now immediately before us are ſome paſſages in a pamphlet entitled, "Who'll change Old Lamps for New?" Printed in 1799. The moral uſes ariſing to ſociety from the miniſters of religion in ALL perſuaſions, are there briefly mentioned.

Nor incompetent to eſtimate or feeble to defend the ſyſtems of education eſtabliſhed in our beſt ſchools and univerſities, was the learned and animated, though anonymous, writer of a note on a verſe in "The Purſuits of Literature."

"I would call (ſays he) the riſing youth of this country, to the intenſe, and fervent, and unremitting ſtudy of the ancient claſſical writers, (whom I need not name) as their primary choice. I call upon them to have the courage, to be ignorant of many ſubjects, and of many authors, at their ineſtimable age. Never to pretend to ſtudy, in their firſt academical years, what they deſign as the ultimate end of their labours, I mean, their profeſſion. Their whole buſineſs is to lay the foundation of knowledge original, ſound, and ſtrong. In particular, the ſtudy of

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the law, *as such*, ſhould never be entered upon; even *in limine*, before the firſt degree in arts is obtained. The firſt volume indeed of Blackſtone's Commentaries may be read, in the ſame manner as Robertſon's Introduction to his Hiſtory of Charles the Fifth. They are chef d'œuvres in their kind, and form a part of general knowledge. The ſpecifick ſtudy of the law in the univerſity, at that early age, confines and cripples the faculties. Such a ſtudent may arrive at mere knowledge, as a ſpecial pleader, but he will never be illuſtrious, or ornamental to his profeſſion. When a man has once entered upon any profeſſion whatever, his education has in fact ceaſed. They, who by a patient continuance, and undiverted attention to accademical ſtudies alone, have ſought for the original materials of ſcience and of ſolid fame, have ſeldom failed in their great purſuit." The author of this annotation profeſſes, and indeed proves himſelf to be, to the univerſities "a friend who believed, or rather who knew them to be capable, in their high functions, to maintain and adorn the principles of happineſs, and ſafety, and learning, and comfort, and hope, and good conſcience; againſt foppery, and falſe ſcience, and the degradation of the intellect, and frippery, and pompous nonſenſe, and the inſolence

of

of sciolists, and the neglect of good writing and of good manners. A friend who with no false enthusiasm, would secure the permanency of these ILLUSTRIOUS INSTITUTIONS, with every monument of ancient arts, and eloquence, and science, consecrated by the ministry of religion to the stability of the state." (Edit. sixth, p. 264.)

Friday, April 9.—The chancellor of the exchequer addressed the chairman of the committee. "Sir, I rise in pursuance of a notice given by me some few days since, and move for leave to bring in a bill to restrain for a time to be limited, the payment of cash by the bank of England. I am aware, sir, it is impossible to submit, without explanation, a motion which is to have the effect of imposing any restraint or obstruction with regard to the ordinary functions of an establishment like the bank: but I have the satisfaction of being convinced, that the measure cannot furnish the most timid man in the house with a pretence for supposing, that the bank does not possess within itself the most ample means of satisfying to the fullest extent the demands which may be made on it, by the payment of *specie*. It cannot be necessary for me to inform the house, that the rate of exchange between this country and foreign parts is

is diſadvantageous to ourſelves. It cannot be neceſſary for me to ſtate, that the export trade has been for ſome months at a ſtand; and that a conſiderable time muſt elapſe, before the country can have the benefit of the returns of the export trade, even after it is reſtored to thoſe channels, into which it is rapidly throwing itſelf. It cannot be neceſſary for me to prove, that while the rate of exchange is diſadvantageous to us, an augmentation of the circulating caſh would create a trade highly injurious to the intereſt and commerce of this country. It is well known that for ſeveral months paſt there has been carrying on a trade of purchaſing guineas with a view to the exportation of them. It is on theſe grounds, viz. the circumſtances belonging to the export trade; the impoſſibility of having thoſe returns, which in England are many months before they are made, on the export trade; and the prevention of the miſchief that would ariſe from the exportation of coin; it is on theſe grounds I think it my duty to ſubmit the expediency of continuing the reſtriction with regard to the payments of the bank. There is, ſir, another conſideration, which preſſes ſtrongly on my mind, and which, I am perſuaded, muſt be felt equally by the houſe and by the country. It is, that the entire command over all foreign

foreign markets, which we have for ſome time paſt experienced, cannot be expected to continue in the ſame degree. Competition muſt exiſt; and it is important at the commencement of ſuch competition, that every facility ſhould be given to the merchants of this country. By continuing the reſtriction on the bank for ſome time longer, the accommodation afforded to merchants by the bank, with reſpect to diſcount, will be continued. I am not aware of any inconvenience that can poſſibly ariſe from continuing it. We have had the ſatisfaction reſulting from the experience of difficulties for three or four years; we have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, that during that period the credit of the bank has undergone no diminution whatever. Bank notes have maintained their reputation, and have been every where received cheerfully and readily. I know that gentlemen, both in this houſe and in the country, entertain a diverſity of opinion reſpecting the mode in which the bank ſhould be permitted to renew its money payments. Some are deſirous the bank ſhould pay in caſh for notes of ſmall denomination: but till there is a full and abundant ſupply of caſh by opening the bank entirely, it is extremely convenient to afford circulation to one pound and two pound notes. By the payment of them in *ſpecie* would be introduced a general

general anxiety for obtaining caſh at the bank. Notes of 1,000*l.* and 500*l.* would be changed for notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* in order that theſe ſmaller notes may be immediately changed for caſh. The effect of making the bank pay in caſh for ſmall notes, would be that of giving riſe to the poſſibility of an unlimited demand on the bank, by exchanging large notes for ſmall, and then taking the ſmall entirely out of circulation by demanding payment of them in *ſpecie.* I have already ſaid it is a meaſure rendered neceſſary by the rate of exchange, and the ſtate of our export trade, that payment in *ſpecie* ſhould be reſtricted. I ſhall only add, that it will be prudent to wait, till we ſee the conſequences and are enabled to judge of the effects, which will reſult from the peace we have juſt concluded; to wait till our commercial relations are formed on the continent; till we know what are the political and commercial relations in which different countries ſtand with reference to each other; before we take a ſtep, which if haſtily taken, would be productive of much inconvenience and much injury. I therefore conclude by moving, "that the reſtrictions impoſed by the 37th of his Majeſty, with regard to payments of the notes of the bank of England, in caſh, be further continued, for a time to be limited."[a]

Sir Robert Peele and general Gaſcoine concurred in opinion with Mr. Addington.

Monday, April 12.—Sir Francis Burdett made a motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſtry. His ſpeech, which was conceived in general terms of reprehenſion, was ſeconded by Mr. Sturt. Lord Temple replied. "He vindicated the late miniſters on the ſubject of the Iriſh rebellion, and that of their proceedings with regard to peace. The income tax, he contended, had been the ſalvation of the country, by calling forth its energy. He was happy indeed the ſituation of our affairs was ſuch, as to admit of its repeal; ſtill however he looked forward to it as one of the reſources, to which we might reſort on any future extraordinary occaſion. He hoped it would always be reſerved as a war tax. It had been relinquiſhed at a period, when taxes, which were now to be ſubſtituted in its place, would fall with the leaſt preſſure. He recollected however it was a tax, for which the city of London had called; and which, upon the ſuggeſtion of commercial men, had been adopted as the beſt and moſt proper method of raiſing a large ſum of money. As to the general propriety of the motion before the houſe, he ſhould only add, he

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thought it was to the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who was intended to be affected by it, that the people of this country were indebted for every blessing they now enjoyed; and their representatives, for the preservation of their right to sit in that house. Had not his gigantic plans, his vigour, and his abilities, called forth that confidence on the part of the people, with which they so long relied on him, instead of being in a situation to return thanks that they were still governed by the best of Kings, they would have fallen under the lash, and have been groaning under the yoke of a foreign invader."

Mr. Archdale and lord Belgrave spoke in defence and praise of Mr. Pitt.

The original motion was lost. The votes were 246 against it; 39 for it.—Majority 207 against it.

Perhaps no civil measure of internal policy contributed more to save our constitution, than the sedition bill; the chief provision of which corresponded with the principles even of republican government, for it existed in the laws of Rome during her most free days. "MAJORES VESTRI (says Posthumius) NE VOS QUIDEM, nisi quum aut vexillo in arce posito comitiorum causâ exercitus eductus esset, aut plebi concilium tribuni

 edixissent,

edixiſſent, aut aliquis ex magiſtratibus ad concionem vocâſſet, FORTE TEMERE COIRE VOLUERUNT: et, UBICUNQUE MULTITUDO ESSET, IBI ET LEGITIMUM RECTOREM MULTITUDINIS CENSEBANT DEBERE ESSE." (Liv. 39. 15.) The application of this appoſite and remarkable paſſage was firſt made by the very worthy and able Mr. Archdeacon MOORE, of Exeter, in his Diſcourſe of 1801.

Tueſday, April 13.—Accounts from Paris ſtated theſe particulars. Monſieur Portalis, on the 5th inſt. preſented to the legiſlative body the "Concordat" with the pope, and alſo the eccleſiaſtical laws, which had been framed on the ground of this ſolemn convention. He then delivered a long ſpeech on the occaſion. He ſtated the motives which had led to the meaſure in queſtion. He pointed out the ſuperior excellence of the chriſtian, to every other religious ſyſtem; its divine origin; the ſimplicity and force of its tenets; the purity of its morals; and the benefits which had flowed from the practice of it, in every quarter of the globe. He expatiated on the nature and happy influence of religion upon the conduct of man in ſociety. He recommended the catholic religion, under new regulations, as the

the beſt form which could be adopted by France, revered as it had been by public opinion, ſanctioned by the experience of ages, and congenial as it was to the manners and cuſtoms of the people. The proteſtant form however was to be protected alſo by the government.

To every one, who recollects the horrible impieties, which prevailed in France under the ſyſtem of democratic fury and avowed atheiſm, this revival of the chriſtian religion muſt appear a circumſtance moſt highly important; and is particularly memorable, as a bleſſing immediately ariſing from the return and eſtabliſhment of peace.

Wedneſday, April 14.—The houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee upon the bill for conſolidating certain acts of parliament for the redemption of the national debt. The chancellor of the exchequer ſtated the outlines of his plan. The great object was to conſolidate the public debt, and to conſolidate the redemption of it. For that end, two purpoſes were to be effected. 1ſt, To provide for the preſent moment; and 2dly, To accelerate the redemption of the debt. When the whole amount of the national debt was conſidered, he would not heſitate to ſay it could not

be viewed without ſome anxiety, nor without a correſponding wiſh to lighten and entirely remove it. The amount of the permanent taxes was little ſhort of thirty millions; and the capital of the debt amounted to four hundred and eighty-eight millions. He had however the ſatisfaction to ſtate, that by conſolidating the two eſtabliſhments for redeeming the national debt, the one inſtituted in 1786, the other in 1792, they would be enabled to pay off the whole of the national debt in forty-three years and two months. The ſum alſo of 1,500,000*l.* would by this meaſure be left as a ſurplus; being the difference of intereſt after paying off the four and five per cents. The advantages, which would ariſe to the public he had fairly ſtated, and the object under conſideration was to apply for relief to thoſe meaſures, which held out ſuch ſolid and pleaſing reſources. With reſpect to the two ſinking funds of 1786 and 1792, they would, if conſolidated, produce 5,667,000*l.* which, in the courſe of the time ſpecified, would be equal to the extinction of a debt one hundred times as much; or to the extinction of five hundred and ſixty millions; and that operation, as it evidently appeared from the tables made out for the information of the houſe, would then leave an exceſs of eighty millions above the whole amount of the national debt, as

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it exifted at the prefent moment. He had upon this important fubject nothing more to obferve; he therefore begged permiffion to propofe the following refolutions:

"Refolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the fum applicable, under the 26th and 32d of the King, on the 1ft of February 1802, to the extinction of the national debt, together with 200,000*l.* per annum, would, without the annuities which will expire, extinguifh the whole in forty-five years, being a fhorter time than the two funds, if kept feparately upon their prefent eftablifhed footing would do, together with 200,000*l.* per annum, and one per cent. upon the 97,000,000*l.* funded this feffion of parliament.

"Refolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the fum of 200,000*l.* to be paid annually, under the 26th of the King, to the commiffioners for the extinction of the national debt, from the 5th of April, 1803, be vefted in commiffioners, to be governed by other regulations.

"Refolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the funds under the 26th and and 32d of the King, fhould be confolidated, and be continually laid out at compound intereft, till the whole national debt is extinguifhed.

 "Refolved,

"Refolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the annuities which fhall expire, fhall be applicable to the public fervice, in fuch manner as parliament fhall provide."

The chairman did not read thefe refolutions; but was immediately ordered to report progrefs, and afk leave to fit again.—The report to be brought up to-morrow.

Saturday, April 17.—The gazette announces, that the dignity of a baron is conferred on Sir Edward Law, late the attorney general, and now chief juftice in the court of King's Bench. His name, ftyle, and title, is baron Ellenborough, of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland. This fucceffor of lord Kenyon is a man of unblemifhed character, great mental powers, and profound legal knowledge.

Tuefday, April 20.—Le Clerc, the French general at St. Domingo, defcribes minutely a campaign of five days, in which the French troops encountered difficulties almoft infurmountable. The Black troops difputed every ftep. In their retreat, they burned feven towns. Touffaint's cruelty excited horror and indignation. "Language (fays the general) does not

furniſh an epithet for the ferocity of Touſſaint. He has butchered more than 10,000 of the inhabitants, Blacks, Whites, and Mulattoes. In our different expeditions we collected nearly 8,000 individuals, whom he had devoted to ſlaughter."

Wedneſday, April 21.—Several perſons were introduced at the levee, and kiſſed hands on account of promotion. Among others, the hon. Spencer Percival, on his appointment to the office of attorney general. As a lawyer, Mr. Percival is reſpected at the bar; as a ſenator, though he has ſeldom ſpoken except on great occaſions, which of courſe do not occur frequently, yet whenever he has delivered his ſentiments, he has had the ſatisfaction of experiencing the attention, not of the houſe only, but of the public alſo, to his clear and forcible reaſoning.

On the ſame day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the committee for the bank reſtriction bill. He propoſed the blank in that bill ſhould be filled up with "the 1ſt of March, 1803." He wiſhed gentlemen to underſtand, that the bill before them did not originate in any ſuſpicion about the ſufficiency either of the bank,

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or the directors, to reſume the former practice of paying in *ſpecie*; but it proceeded merely from grounds of political expediency. That the bank ſtood on a firm and ſolid foundation, he was perfectly confident; and he was happy in being able to aſſure the committee, that on the part of the directors there was not the leaſt reluctance, but rather a readineſs to iſſue *ſpecie* as formerly, ſhould parliament think it proper and neceſſary. The only queſtion for them now to conſider was, what period they would fix for the duration of the bill. It appeared evident that it ſhould continue in force, until thoſe cauſes, which now rendered the exiſtence of it neceſſary, were likely to ceaſe. Our export trade had for ſome time back been almoſt at a ſtand, and that produced the balance of exchange againſt us. He doubted not however that the ſame trade would ſoon revive, and that in conſequence of the peace, we ſhould find new markets for our manufactures. Yet it was to be taken into the account, that returns to thoſe exports were not to be expected, at leaſt ſuch returns as would materially benefit our commerce, within a ſhorter period than that of a year. To this therefore they ſhould make up their minds; becauſe ſooner than this, it was not probable that the evil, which this bill was to

counteract,

counteract, it was not probable a disadvantageous exchange would be entirely removed. Prudence and policy therefore pointed out the necessity of the restriction proposed for the time specified, in order to prevent the exportation of bullion, a species of traffic, which however lucrative to individuals, would nevertheless be extremely injurious to the nation. He was aware, that some gentlemen were of opinion, this bill should be limited to five or six weeks after the meeting of the next parliament; but of that he disapproved, because it was impossible to ascertain the time at which that parliament might meet; it might perhaps be a time more early, than that in which it would be wise to allow the expiration of the bill. Besides, if parliament should meet in November, it would then be competent to weigh the merits of this measure, and consider how far the causes, by which it was now justified, had ceased to operate. Indeed to this enquiry it would be fully competent, whenever it should meet; on that ground therefore, no inconvenience could possibly arise from agreeing to the period, which he proposed; much however might result from adopting that, to which he had alluded as more proper in the conception of other gentlemen.

men. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had expreſſed a wiſh that a clauſe ſhould be introduced into this bill, authorizing the bank to reſume its practice of paying in *ſpecie*, by degrees, according to the diſcretion of the directors. To that Mr. Addington objected. He was not willing to give them in that reſpect a greater power, than what had been granted them by former bills; which was, that upon five days notice to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, they might pay any debt or demand in *ſpecie*: ſuch was the conſtruction put upon the bill, by thoſe who were enabled to carry it into effect; and beyond that power he was not diſpoſed to go. Nor did he wiſh to place the bank in an invidious point of view, as though ſtoppage of payments in *ſpecie* originated in its own reluctance or inſufficiency; an effect this, which would reſult from the propoſition made by the hon. gentleman: it was much more eligible that the power of this reſtriction ſhould reſt in the hands of parliament, which was the fitteſt judge to decide on the grounds of that political expediency, which originally produced, and now urged a continuance of the meaſure.

Mr. Dent maintained, that the credit of the

bank never ſtood higher than at preſent. He ſaid there was now a profit of five per cent. on every guinea exported from this country; and that circumſtance alone was ſufficient to call for the continuance of the preſent bill.

The committee agreed to Mr. Addington's motion.

Thurſday, April 22.—The Paris papers announce a very intereſting event. On Sunday the 18th Buonaparte iſſued a proclamation for the re-eſtabliſhment of religion. "A ſenſeleſs policy (ſays the proclamation) ſtrove to ſtifle religious diſſenſions, under the wrecks of altars, and the ruins of religion herſelf. At the voice of that policy, ceaſed thoſe pious ſolemnities, at which citizens called each other by the endearing name of brethren. The dying no longer heard that conſoling voice which ſummons Chriſtians to a better life: and God himſelf ſeemed exiled from nature. All the paſſions were let looſe; morality was without ſupport; miſery without hope in futurity. To ſtop that diſorder, it was neceſſary again to fix religion on her baſis; and this could not be done, but through meaſures acknowledged by religion itſelf."

Early

Early on that Sunday, the cannon were fired, and the religious ordinance proclaimed. The chief conſul and all officers in civil departments attended at Notre Dame. High maſs was performed. In thoſe parts of the ſervice, where the congregation bow, the ſoldiers preſented arms. A ſermon was preached by the biſhop of Paris, the very perſon who preached before Louis XVI. at his coronation.

That in all this there is more of military diſplay than the mild genius of chriſtianity requires or allows, we who are bleſſed with the enjoyment of pure religion, cannot heſitate to acknowledge. Still however, if we recollect what for ſeveral years paſt has been the public diſregard of all religion in the French nation, to every man who loves chriſtianity, who loves morals, who loves civilization, who loves ſocial order, the very appearance of any thing like an attempt to reſtore the ſabbath and religious ſervice, muſt be an occaſion of more than ordinary ſatisfaction. The *ſubſtance* of religion muſt be combined with ſome *forms* of religion, if it means to produce any effect on the bulk of mankind; and thoſe *forms* muſt recur on ſtated ſeaſons not far diſtant from each other, if they are to operate forcibly on

on the paſſions. The appointment therefore of the ſabbath, that is of one day in every ſeven, for religious ſolemnities, is wiſely inſtituted; becauſe by frequent recurrence is kept alive in the mind, a due ſenſe of what is meant by thoſe *forms*. To ſay nothing of that divine command, which enjoins the obſervance of one day in ſeven, and which in its ſubſtantial part we are bound by moral obligation always to obey; even humanly ſpeaking, the inſtitution of the ſabbath is of all others moſt ſalutary to ſociety, where ſtrict regard is paid to attendance on divine worſhip, and where the day is ſpent for the moſt part in ſacred reading, calm reflection, ſober recreation, intermiſſion of ordinary amuſements, communicating religious inſtruction to family and domeſtics. Seen alſo in another point of view, the ſabbath is meant as a bleſſing to the community at large: it is intended that reſt ſhould thereby be given to the laborious, one day in ſeven. The French decade, which aimed at ſuppreſſing the ſabbath, was founded in mercileſs cruelty; for it robbed the induſtrious of that ceſſation from labour on every ſeventh day, which the chriſtian ſabbath, in its benevolence, enjoins maſters to grant: would we could add, and which in every chriſ-

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tian country maſters actually do grant!" But, when we ſee the ſervants of many families *habitually* (for it is the conſtant habit, and not the occaſional neceſſity, which conſtitutes the culpability) when we ſee them *habitually* engaged in the buſineſs of crowded viſits, not leſs on the ſabbath, than on other days, we cannot ſay in truth, that due conſideration for the comfort, not to mention the religious improvement, of thoſe ſervants, is there paid by maſters.

In his lectures, ſo commendable for the motives on which they were begun, and ſo valuable for the information and inſtruction with which they abound, biſhop Porteus has this remark:

"This temporary ſuſpenſion of labour, this refreſhment and relief from inceſſant toil, is moſt graciouſly allowed even to the brute creation, by the great Governor of the univerſe, whoſe mercy extends over *all* his works. It is the boon of heaven itſelf. It is a ſmall drop of comfort thrown into their cup of miſery; and to wreſt from them this only privilege, this ſweeteſt conſolation of their wretched exiſtence, is a degree of inhumanity for which there wants a name." (Lect. x. p. 257. vol. i. ed. 1802.)

Monday,

Monday, April 26.—On this day was duly ſigned the following proclamation:

By the KING.—A Proclamation.

GEORGE *R.*

WHEREAS a definitive treaty of peace and friendſhip between us, the French republic, his Catholic Majeſty, and the Batavian republic, was concluded at Amiens, on the 27th day of March laſt, and the ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit hereby to command that the ſame be publiſhed throughout all our dominions. And we do declare to all our loving ſubjects our will and pleaſure, that the ſaid treaty of peace and friendſhip be obſerved inviolably as well by ſea as land, and in all places whatever; ſtrictly charging and commanding all our loving ſubjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themſelves thereunto accordingly.

Given at our court at Windſor, the 26th day of April, 1802, in the forty-ſecond year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

There was ſigned alſo a proclamation, appointing a general thankſgiving to ALMIGHTY GOD for the bleſſing of renewed peace, to be ſolemnized on the FIRST DAY OF JUNE.

Monday, April 26.—Mr. Addington informed a large body of monied men from the city, that he propoſed iſſuing ninety thouſand lottery tickets, amounting in the whole to 900,000*l.* which ſhould be drawn either at two or at three different periods, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the bidders. To obviate however, as much as poſſible, the miſchiefs of inſurance, only eight days ſhould be allowed for each drawing, viz. two days in four ſucceſſive weeks. The hours of drawing between ſix in the morning, and eight at night.

Tueſday, April 27.—The gazette ſtated, that ratifications of the definitive treaty had been received from the Firſt Conſul of the French republic; from his Catholic Majeſty; and from the Batavian republic.

This account was followed by a proclamation, which having premiſed that the definitive treaty had been ſo ratified by the ſeveral powers, "notified and declared a concluſion of the war."

Thurſday, April 29.—The chancellor of the exchequer received ſeven ſets of bidders for the lottery. He cloſed with thoſe who offered 16 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* The profit to government is 555,000 *l.* a profit great beyond example; it exceeded former gains by at leaſt 100,000 *l.*

At noon on this day was a grand proceſſion of troops, and heralds; of aldermen; with the lord mayor of London; and uſual attendants; for the purpoſe of proclaiming peace in high form and ſolemnity. The illuminations in the evening were general, and more brilliant than ever had been exhibited on any occaſion.

Friday, April 30.—The chancellor of the exchequer ſtated to the houſe the contract he had made for the lottery. He then enlarged on what he had but intimated on the 26th inſt. to the gentlemen from the city. He informed the committee, it had been his object not only to make a beneficial bargain for the public, but alſo to adopt ſuch plans and regulations, as held forth a fair proſpect of interpoſing an effectual check to the miſchievous practice of low inſurance. It was impoſſible for any perſon not in poſſeſſion of official information, to conceive the great and

ruinous extent to which this nefarious practice obtained. Were he to mention the ſums of money expended, the number of clerks, and other perſons employed in going to public houſes, and other places of general reſort, for the purpoſe of enticing and alluring people to embark in this ruinous ſpeculation, he ſhould preſent ſuch a lamentable ſcene of miſchief and miſery, as would totally do away all objection, if any objection could exiſt, to the adopting of a plan which was calculated to prevent, and as far as poſſible to annihilate, the continuance of inſurance. It muſt be obvious to every gentleman, that the inducement and temptation to inſure were in exact proportion to the length of time the lottery continued drawing. In proportion then as the period of drawing was ſhortened, the practice of inſuring would be diminiſhed. He propoſed therefore, there ſhould be three ſeaſons for drawing the lottery, and that the term of each drawing ſhould be limited to eight days.

Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor ſtated ſome particular inſtances of the deſperate means, by which the poorer orders would raiſe money, for the purpoſe of inſuring.

Mr. Babington ſpoke to the ſame effect as Mr. Addington.

Addington. The committee agreed to Mr. Addington's motion.

Monday, May 3.—When government communicated authentic information, that the preliminaries of peace had been actually figned, the intelligence came in a manner fo very unexpected, that it excited a tumult of univerfal joy. That a people, who had long been bearing the preffures, and fuftaining the evils of a defenfive war, fhould be thus tranfported at fuddenly hearing a circumftance, which, however much defired, was yet thought unattainable, is an effect refulting naturally from fuccefs in a great object, when the event is abruptly imparted to us at a moment, in which we had almoft fallen into defpair.

From October 1, the day on which the preliminaries were fettled, to March 27, the day on which the definitive treaty was figned, there elapfed an interval of nearly fix months. The public mind, during that period, had full leifure for examining the general outlines and the principal ftipulations of the preliminaries. Nor was the attention of reflecting men in any degree difproportionate to the magnitude of the fubject

they had to contemplate. They conceived however, that in order to form an impartial judgment, they were bound to keep in view this very material circumſtance, viz. That the war was a war of conſervation, not of aggrandiſement; a war forced upon us, not wantonly began on our part; a war defenſive, to ſecure ourſelves, not offenſive, to injure others. With ſteady regard to this ORIGINAL PRINCIPLE, they conceived the preliminaries had ſtipulated ſuch terms, as upon the whole correſponded with the PROFESSED OBJECTS, for which at firſt we had entered the conflict. For they ſaw, that according to the conditions there ſpecified, we maintained our conſtitution unimpaired; our territories undiminiſhed; our national honour untarniſhed. They ſaw more. They ſaw, that we had gained two valuable iſlands; were left in poſſeſſion of an immenſe tract acquired in the Eaſt Indies; had ſaved our allies in Portugal and Turkey. They perceived in all this, that we had preſerved inviolable, what ought to be dear to us as our very exiſtence, we had preſerved our national faith. They recollected moreover that we cloſed the war, not at a period of decline in commerce, or of defeat in arms; but at a criſis, when our trade was in the height of proſperity; and our forces by ſea

and.

and land moſt glorioufly ſuccefsful. On duly weighing all theſe facts, they were ſo far from expreffing themſelves diffatisfied with the preliminaries, that they anxiouſly wiſhed for the confirmation of them. And it would be falſifying the hiſtory of the times, to diſſemble that there exiſted no ſmall degree of public ſolicitude, leſt the ſubſtance of the preliminaries ſhould not ultimately be adopted in the definitive treaty. From this ſolicitude the moderate, which was by far the major part of the nation, was at length relieved, by a view of the treaty in its laſt, finiſhed, and complete ſtate. For, however it might differ from the preliminaries in ſome reſpects, particularly in thoſe articles which related more immediately to France, Spain, and Portugal; yet the ſubſtance of the preliminaries was found ſo far preſerved and ſanctioned by the definitive treaty, that the ratification of the treaty occaſioned and diffuſed, not indeed that tumultuous joy, which reſults from ſurprize; but that calm, ſettled, heart-felt ſatisfaction which ſprings from conſcious approbation founded on reflection. It excited admiration, that in a buſineſs where intereſts ſo various, ſo complicated, ſo oppoſite, were to be regarded and adjuſted, an arrangement ſo ſimplified could be ſuggeſted and ſettled. And as to the

general queſtion of policy or impolicy in concluding the war on the terms ſpecified, though we do not pretend to affirm there was entire unanimity, yet without fear of contradiction we may aſſert, there was throughout the kingdom ſcarcely any difference of opinion: for to reaſoning and thinking men it was apparent, and by the generality of candid and diſpaſſionate perſons it was allowed, THAT AS THE BRITISH EMPIRE, NOW LEFT ALONE, HAD NO OBJECT FOR WHICH TO CONTEND WITH ANY PROSPECT OF SUCCESS, THE PROTRACTING OF WAR WOULD BE BUT TO WASTE TREASURE, TO SHED BLOOD, AND TO EXHAUST STRENGTH, FOR NO USEFUL PURPOSE WHATEVER; an act this, of political imprudence, if not of moral wickedneſs, when the war could be terminated on conditions of peace, fair, equitable, ſalutary, and honourable.

Such was the general perſuaſion of the country at large. In parliament however there were ſome individuals, and thoſe, it muſt be confeſſed, reſpectable in character, virtuous in principle, and upright in their intentions, who, as they objected in the firſt inſtance to the preliminaries, ſo now they objected alſo to the definitive treaty; which, as it will ſoon be the ſubject of debate, ſhall here be inſerted.

DEFINITIVE

[library stamp]

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE

Between the French republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian republic, on the one part; and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the other part.

The first Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, by the preliminary articles which were signed in London the 9th Vendemiaire, an. 10. (1st of October, 1801.)

And as by the 15th article of the preliminaries it has been agreed on "that plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers,"

The first Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has named as plenipotentiary the citizen Joseph Buonaparte, counsellor of state:—

His Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named the marquis

marquis Cornwallis, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, one of his Majeſty's privy counſel, general in his Majeſty's army, &c. &c.—

His Majeſty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian republic, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries; to wit; his Catholic Majeſty has named Don Joſeph Nicolas d'Azara, his counſellor of ſtate, grand croſs of the order of Charles III. ambaſſador extraordinary of his Majeſty to the French republic, &c. &c.—

And the government of the Batavian republic has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninck, its ambaſſador extraordinary to the French republic, &c.

Which ſaid plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their reſpective powers, which are tranſcribed at the concluſion of the preſent treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.—There ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the French republic, his Majeſty the King of Spain, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the Batavian republic, on the one ſide; and his Majeſty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and ſucceſſors, on the other part.

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The contracting parties ſhall uſe their utmoſt efforts to preſerve perfect harmony between their reſpective countries, without permitting any act of hoſtility whatever by ſea, or by land, for any cauſe, or under any pretext.

They ſhall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future diſturb the happy union now re-eſtabliſhed between them, and ſhall not give any ſuccour or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would wiſh to injure any one of them.

II. All the priſoners made on one ſide and the other, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried off or delivered up during the war and up to the preſent day, ſhall be reſtored without ranſom, in ſix weeks at the lateſt, to be reckoned from the day when the ratifications of the preſent treaty are exchanged, and on paying the debts which they ſhall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the contracting parties ſhall reſpectively diſcharge the advances which ſhall have been made by any of the contracting parties for the ſupport and maintenance of priſoners in the countries where they have been detained. There ſhall be appointed by mutual conſent for this purpoſe a commiſſion, ſpecially empowered to aſcertain and determine the compenſations which

which may be due to any one of the contracting parties. The time and the place ſhall likewiſe be fixed by mutual conſent for the meeting of the commiſſioners, who ſhall be entruſted with the execution of this article, and who ſhall take into account, not only the expences incurred on account of the priſoners of the reſpective nations, but likewiſe on account of the foreign troops, who, before being taken, were in the pay and at the diſpoſal of one of the contracting parties.

III. His Britannic Majeſty reſtores to the French republic and its allies, viz. his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian republic, all the poſſeſſions and colonies which reſpectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the Britiſh forces during the courſe of the preſent war, with the exception of the iſland of Trinidad, and of the Dutch poſſeſſions in the iſland of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majeſty cedes and guarantees in full property and ſovereignty the iſland of Trinidad to his Britannic Majeſty.

V. The Batavian republic cedes and guarantees in full property and ſovereignty to his Britannic Majeſty, all the poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments in the iſland of Ceylon, which previous to the

the war belonged to the republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East India company.

VI. The port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty in the same manner it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other contracting parties shall be allowed to enter the said port, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

VII. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity such as they were antecedent to the war. However, the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the river Arawari, which empties itself into the ocean above Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penetentia, about a degree and a third of north latitude. These boundaries shall run along the river Arawari from its mouth the most distant from Cape North to its source, and afterwards on a right line, drawn from that source, to the Rio-Bauto towards the west.

In

In consequence, the northern bank of the river Arawari, from its distant mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the north of the line of the boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French republic.

The southern bank of the said river, from the same mouth, and all the territories to the south of the said line, shall belong to her Most Faithful Majesty.

The navigation of the river Arawari along the whole of its course, shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlement of their boundaries in Europe shall nevertheless be adhered to, conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity, as they were before the war.

IX. The republic of the Seven Islands is recognized.

X. The islands of Malta, Gazo, and Camino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it

it poſſeſſed them before the war, and under the following ſtipulations:

1. The knights of the order whoſe languages [*langue*; claſs, or tribe] ſhall continue to ſubſiſt, after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as ſoon as the exchange ſhall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand maſter, choſen from among the natives of the nations which preſerve their language, unleſs that election has been already made ſince the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is underſtood that an election, made ſubſequent to that epoch ſhall alone be conſidered valid, to the excluſion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic and of Great Britain, deſiring to place the order and iſland of Malta in a ſtate of entire independence with reſpect to them, agree, that there ſhall not be in future either a French or Engliſh language; and that no individual belonging to either the one or other of theſe powers ſhall be admitted into the order.

3. There ſhall be eſtabliſhed a Malteſe language, which ſhall be ſupported by the territorial reve-

nues

nues and commercial duties of the iſland. This language ſhall have its peculiar dignities, an eſtabliſhment, and an hotel. Proofs of nobility ſhall not be neceſſary for the admiſſion of knights of this language; and they ſhall be moreover admiſſible to all offices, and ſhall enjoy all privileges in the ſame manner as the knights of the other languages. At leaſt half of the municipal, adminiſtrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, ſhall be filled by inhabitants of the iſlands of Malta, Gazo, and Camino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall evacuate the iſland, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or ſooner if poſſible. At that epoch it ſhall be given up to the order in its preſent ſtate, provided the grand maſter, or commiſſaries fully authorized according to the ſtatutes of the order, ſhall be in the iſland to take poſſeſſion, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majeſty, as is hereafter ſtipulated, ſhall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garriſon, at leaſt, ſhall be always compoſed of native Malteſe; for the remainder the order may levy recruits in thoſe countries only which continue to poſſeſs the

languages

languages (posseder les langues). The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commander in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the grand master; and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the isles of Malta, of Gazo, and Camino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; these duties shall be applied to the cultivation of the Maltese language, as specified in paragraph 3d, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all colours.

9. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraghs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which

ſubſiſts between the ſtates of Barbary and the order of St. John, or the powers poſſeſſing the languages, or concurring in the compoſition of the order, ſhall have ceaſed.

10. The order ſhall be governed, both with reſpect to ſpirituals and temporals, by the ſame ſtatutes which were in force when the knights left the iſle, as far as the preſent treaty ſhall not derogate from them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, ſhall be converted into laws and perpetual ſtatutes of the order, in the cuſtomary manner; and the grand maſter, or, if he ſhall not be in the iſland at the time of its reſtoration to the order, his repreſentative, as well as his ſucceſſors, ſhall be bound to take an oath for their punctual obſervance.

12. His Sicilian Majeſty ſhall be invited to furniſh two thouſand men, natives of his ſtates, to ſerve in garriſon of the different fortreſſes of the ſaid iſlands. That force ſhall remain one year, to bear date from the reſtitution to the knights; and if at the expiration of this term the order ſhould not have raiſed a force ſufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, to garriſon the iſland and its dependencies, ſuch as is ſpecified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops

troops ſhall continue there until they ſhall be replaced by a force deemed ſufficient by the ſaid powers.

13. The different powers deſignated in the ſixth paragraph, to wit, France, Great Britain, Auſtria, Spain, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, ſhall be invited to accede to the preſent ſtipulations.

XI. The French troops ſhall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman ſtates; the Engliſh forces ſhall alſo evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and iſlands that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, ceſſions, and reſtitutions ſtipulated by the preſent treaty, ſhall be executed in Europe within a month; on the continent and ſeas of America and Africa, in three months; on the continent and ſeas of Aſia, in the ſix months which ſhall follow the ratification of the preſent definitive treaty, except in caſe of a ſpecial reſervation.

XIII. In all caſes of reſtitution agreed upon by the preſent treaty, the fortifications ſhall be reſtored in the condition they were at the time of ſigning the preliminaries; and all the works which ſhall have been conſtructed ſince their occupation, ſhall remain untouched.

It is agreed besides, that in all the stipulated cases of cessions, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the notification of the present treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired or possessed by them before or during the continuance of the present war; during which term of three years they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion, and to enjoy their fortunes.

The same power is granted in the countries that are hereby restored, to all persons, whether inhabitants or not, who shall have formed any establishment there during the times that these countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence, be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the contracting parties, or on any account whatever, except for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts subsequent to the present treaty.

XIV. All the sequestrations laid on either side, on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature

soever

ſoever they may be, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their citizens or ſubjects, ſhall be taken off immediately after the ſignature of this definitive treaty.

The deciſion of all claims among the individuals of the reſpective nations for debts, property, effects or rights, of any nature whatſoever, which ſhould, according to received uſages, and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace, ſhall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all thoſe caſes ſpeedy and complete juſtice ſhall be done in the countries wherein thoſe claims ſhall be reſpectively preferred.

XV. The fiſheries on the coaſts of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent iſlands, and in the gulph of St. Laurence; are placed on the ſame footing as they were before the war.

The French fiſhermen of Newfoundland and the inhabitants of the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, ſhall have liberty to cut ſuch woods as may be neceſſary for them in the bays of Fortune and Deſpair during the firſt year, reckoning from the ratification of the preſent treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and diſputes which might ariſe on account of captures which may have been made at ſea ſubſequent to the ſigning of the preliminaries, it is reciprocally

 agreed,

agreed, that the ſhips and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after a ſpace of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles, ſhall be reſtored on the one ſide and the other; that the term ſhall be one month for the ſpace, from the Channel and the North Sea as far as the Canary Iſlands incluſively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Iſlands to the Equator; and finally five months in all other parts of the world, without any further exception or diſtinction of time or place.

XVII. The ambaſſadors, miniſters, and other agents of the contracting powers ſhall enjoy reſpectively in the ſtates of the ſaid powers the ſame rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which were enjoyed before the war by agents of the ſame claſs.

XVIII. The branches of the houſe of Naſſau, which were eſtabliſhed in the cidevant republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian republic, having experienced ſome loſſes, as well with reſpect to private property as by the change of conſtitution adopted in thoſe countries, an equivalent compenſation ſhall be procured for

the loſſes which they ſhall be proved to have ſuſtained.

XIX. The preſent definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic Majeſty; and the Sublime Porte ſhall be invited to tranſmit its act of acceſſion as ſoon as poſſible.

XX. It is agreed that the contracting parties, upon requiſitions made by them reſpectively, or by their miniſters or officers duly authorized for that purpoſe, ſhall be bound to deliver up to juſtice perſons accuſed of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the juriſdiction of the requiring party, provided that this ſhall only be done in caſes in which the evidence of the crime ſhall be ſuch, that the laws of the place in which the accuſed perſon ſhall be diſcovered, would have authorized the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expences of the arreſt and the proſecution ſhall be defrayed by the party making the requiſition; but this article has no ſort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the concluſion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and faithfully, all the articles contained

in the preſent treaty; and will not ſuffer any ſort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their citizens or reſpective ſubjects; and the contracting parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

XXII. The preſent treaty to be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or ſooner if poſſible, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In teſtimony whereof, we, the underſigned plenipotentiaries, have ſigned with our hands, and in virtue of our reſpective full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, cauſing it to be ſealed with our reſpective ſeals.

Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10 (March 25, 1802.)

(Signed) *Bonaparte,*
Cornwallis,
Azara, and
Schimmelpenninck.

A correct copy, *J. Bonaparte.*

Monday, May 3d.—As a prelude to a debate on the merits of this treaty, Mr. Windham obſerved, that on the preſent occaſion he ſhould not enter into a minute inveſtigation and detail, but only remark in general, that the ſubject might juſtly

juſtly be ſubdivided into four diſtinct heads. The firſt referred to thoſe points, which though actually exiſting at the time of ſigning the preliminaries, were notwithſtanding unknown to the houſe. The ſecond, to tranſactions which had taken place ſubſequent to the ſigning of the preliminaries. The third, to points which might be conſidered as a departure from the proviſions of the preliminary treaty. And the fourth, to points totally omitted, which formed a part of the preliminaries. After having expatiated on theſe and other points, he concluded with moving, " that the houſe do, to-morrow FORTNIGHT, go into an enquiry on the definitive treaty of peace with France, Spain, and the Batavian republic."

Mr. Elliot ſeconded the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer roſe to reply. He thanked his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) for the opportunity which, by his motion, would be afforded his Majeſty's miniſters, to explain every part of their conduct throughout the whole negotiation, and to ſtate the grounds on which they had adviſed his Majeſty to conclude the definitive treaty now lying on the table. It was not, he profeſſed, his intention to follow his right hon. friend minutely, through the four heads under which he had claſſed his obſervations:

tions: he would at preſent content himſelf with making ſome few general remarks on the points to which he had adverted; and what he now ſaid, was principally with a view to obviate the impreſſion, which ſome of his right hon. friend's arguments might have produced. Under the firſt general head it had been obſerved, that the iſland of Elba had been ceded to France. But he would beg leave to aſk, whether it was a cauſe of juſt reproach to his Majeſty's miniſters, that this ceſſion was made to the French government by the king of Etruria, a ſovereign perfectly competent to make ſuch ſurrender of his own territories: or did it impoſe on them the neceſſity of conſidering this arrangement as a ground for renewing the war? Unleſs his right hon. friend was prepared to go this length, it was impoſſible that blame ſhould attach to his Majeſty's miniſters. With regard to the limits of French Guiana, on which ſo much had been ſaid, the fact was, their confines were to be regulated by the treaty of Badajos, and theſe were the preciſe limits, which the Portugueſe had expreſsly declared they would think themſelves fortunate, if by the interference of England they ſhould be able to obtain. The Britiſh government, meaning to inſiſt on theſe limits, and fully aware that additional

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tional ceſſions would be required, to which Portugal by her ſituation might be under the neceſſity of ſubmitting, anticipated that neceſſity, even before the preliminaries could be known at Liſbon; and by an expreſs ſtipulation, provided againſt any other arrangement with reſpect to the boundaries, than that which had been formed by the treaty of Badajos. In the eſtabliſhment of the French in Louiſiana, his friend had ſeen much ground for alarm. Unqueſtionably the ceſſion of Louiſiana to France, was a circumſtance not to be ſeen without anxiety, in the view of its affording to the French new means of annoying the American continent, if ſuch a diſpoſition exiſted in France: but it was not fair to aſſert, that France had no other means of annoying America, than by poſſeſſing Louiſiana, and that therefore this poſſeſſion had given France a power it entirely wanted before. Under the head of new matter, the eſtabliſhment of the Italian republic, and the ſailing of the expedition to St. Domingo, had furniſhed a ſubject for animadverſion. As to the firſt of theſe events, he was ready to admit it was calculated to excite great ſolicitude and anxiety, when conſidered as annexing a vaſt acceſſion of ſtrength to France, and thereby affecting the independence of Eu-

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rope. But this ſolicitude and anxiety forced back his mind, to the conſideration of the circumſtances under which the preliminaries had been ſettled; and this queſtion recurred—"Whether this event, ſtriking as it was, would have juſtified miniſters in breaking off the pending negotiations for the definitive treaty?" It was ſaid, that ſuch an incident at any former period would have rouſed and animated the exertions of all European nations; and he was willing to allow this aſſertion was conſiſtent with truth. But what was the fact, at the time when the Italian republic was thus eſtabliſhed? why, before it could poſſibly be known how the intelligence of ſuch an event would be received in this country, or how it would affect the pending negotiations, the meaſure had received the ſanction of the principal continental powers: a fact, which formed another ground of juſtification for the conduct of miniſters, in not conſidering the eſtabliſhment of the Italian republic a reaſon for renewing the war. Great ſtreſs had been laid on the ſailing of the French fleet to St. Domingo. But he thought he might ſafely aſk, whether, when the connection between the two intereſts; between the tranquillity of our Weſt India iſlands, and the ſubverſion of the government of the blacks

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in St. Domingo, was fairly and ſoberly conſidered, the ſailing of that fleet could be regarded as a cauſe for regret? From the difficulties, which the French troops had encountered, might be formed an eſtimate how greatly theſe difficulties would have been augmented, had any delay taken place in the ſailing of that expedition.

Among the points in the definitive treaty, in which it was contended there had been admitted a departure from the terms of the preliminaries, the article reſpecting priſoners had been ſpecified: but for his part, he was unable to ſee in what, ſo far as regarded this article, ſuch departure conſiſted. Much had been ſaid on our paying for the ſupport of the Ruſſian priſoners. When however it was conſidered, that theſe troops had been not merely in our pay, but wholly under our direction and controul, he ſaw no ground for objecting to their being placed, when priſoners of war, on the ſame footing as our own troops. The ſituation in which Malta was left by the treaty, had excited animadverſion: but he might be allowed to ſtate, that the Malteſe themſelves, who had the greateſt intereſt in the effectual fulfilment of the article to which he alluded, did not partake in the feelings of the right hon. gentleman, but had received the arrangement form-

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ed for their independence, with ſatisfaction and gratitude. The arrangement reſpecting the Cape had been condemned. True it was, that article differed from the preliminaries, by including the ſhips of Spain in the arrangement; and by altering the regulations about the deſcription of ſhips to be admitted. It was, however, a matter of doubt, how far the laſt change would be at all diſadvantageous to the intéreſts of this country; and he had the ſatisfaction of ſtating, that in the opinion of perſons beſt qualified to form an accurate judgment on the ſubject, it would not be attended with any of thoſe inconveniences, which were ſo much apprehended. To the non-renewal of former exiſting treaties, he called the ſerious attention of the houſe. He was aware an opinion was prevalent, and was even circulated with great induſtry, that on this point his Majeſty's miniſters had expoſed themſelves to cenſure, by overlooking ſo very important an arrangement as the renewal of exiſting treaties. That ſuch arrangement had been overlooked, he muſt unequivocally deny; and muſt beg leave to aſſure the houſe, that it was not till after the moſt mature deliberation that his Majeſty's miniſters had, under the preſent circumſtances of this country and of Europe, made no propoſition reſpecting

respecting the renewal of these treaties. Equally false as the other opinion was the assertion, that a proposition had actually been made for the renewal, and had been rejected by the French government. No proposition of this sort, he could assure the house, had been made by either of the contracting parties. He would not now go at large into this part of the subject; but he felt perfect confidence in believing, that when it was fairly and fully considered, the conduct of his Majesty's ministers would be completely justified. The arrangement for the indemnification of the illustrious house of Orange, had been condemned as illusory; and the mode, in which it was designated in the treaty, had been a topic of censure. He was willing to confess, that the stipulation for this indemnification was not so binding in the *specific* manner it was to be made, as could be wished; but he must be allowed to contend that the stipulation for *ample* indemnity was as explicitly stated as language could convey. Though it was impossible for him not to lament that the provision for our allies was not more extensive, yet he had satisfaction in stating, that as his Majesty's ministers had omitted no exertions in their behalf, so those exertions had been gratefully acknowledged. With respect to the general question now before the house, it was one of the highest importance: it

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was one on which the feelings of the public were moſt deeply intereſted; it was one, on which it was infinitely deſirable that ſuſpenſe ſhould prevail for as ſhort a period as poſſible. He ſhould conclude therefore by moving, "That inſtead of to-morrow *fortnight*, the words to-morrow *ſe'nnight* be introduced."

After ſome objections made by Mr. T. Grenville, and Mr. Windham, both of whom dwelt chiefly on the non-renewal of treaties, Mr. Pitt ſupported Mr. Addington's motion, which was carried without a diviſion.

Mr. Addington's reply, in this day's debate, is replete with ſterling good ſenſe, ſound judgment, and open fairneſs; and ſo comprehenſive, that it contains the SUM and SUBSTANCE, not indeed of all that can be ſaid in anſwer to objections, but of all that NEED be ſaid on the ſubject, for the purpoſe of convincing perſons, who will meet all circumſtances preciſely as they are.

Tueſday, May 4.—Lord Grenville propoſed in the houſe of lords, "that the houſe do take into their conſideration on Friday ſe'nnight the treaty of peace concluded at Amiens."

Lord Pelham propoſed, "that inſtead of Friday ſe'nnight, the treaty be taken into conſideration on Wedneſday the 12th."

An order was made accordingly.

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The ſecretary of war having moved for leave to bring in a bill, enabling his Majeſty to continue the ſervices of certain volunteer corps, the chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, that the beſt way to ſecure a permanent peace, was to put ourſelves in ſuch a poſture, as would deter an enemy attempting to diſturb our ſecurity, on a ſuppoſition of our weakneſs. Upon that ground, he ſaw the propriety of acceding to the motion. He knew of no force to which this country ought to reſort with ſo much pleaſure and confidence, as the volunteer corps; becauſe it was a force which could exiſt only in a free country. It afforded a pledge of that reliance, which government placed in the loyalty and attachment of the people; and it was a teſt of the opinion the people entertained reſpecting the ſyſtem and principles of their government.

Thurſday, May 13.—The definitive treaty was taken into conſideration this day, by both houſes.

In the houſe of lords, the principal objections were ſtated moſt at length by lord Grenville, who moved an addreſs, which implied cenſure on the treaty. Lord Pelham replied, and moved an addreſs of approbation.

Lord Ellenborough, the lord chief juſtice, congratulated his king and his country on the an-

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nihilation of all that uſeleſs traſh, which was contained in fourteen or fifteen treaties; and which if they had been renewed, would have militated againſt every rule of reaſon and common ſenſe. As to the revival of treaties, noble lords might as well talk of reviving the condition of mankind in ſome very remote period. The revival of the treaties, for which ſome had called, would have been more advantageous to Buonaparte than to this country; therefore the non-renewal could not be imputed as a crime againſt miniſters.

With regard to Portugal, he conſidered the conduct of this country towards her as generous in the extreme; for the nation had diſplayed its integrity towards her, by ſtipulating for her rights and privileges.

The lord chancellor ſpoke for three hours. In the courſe of his ſpeech he ſaid, he did not mean to repreſent this peace as a glorious peace; but he did contend that on the whole it was a peace concluded for the benefit of this country. He adverted to the objections which had been urged againſt the terms of the definitive treaty, many of which objections he thought were ſo inſignificant as ſcarcely to deſerve notice.

Lord Grenville's original motion was put, and negatived without a diviſion. Lord Pelham's was

carried, only ſixteen being againſt it. The houſe adjourned at half paſt ſeven in the morning.

In the houſe of commons, Mr. Windham ſpoke at length againſt the treaty, in cenſure of which he moved an addreſs, which lord Folkſtone ſeconded.

In reply, lord Hawkeſbury ſaid, he viewed the negotiation in quite a different light from that in which it was ſeen by his right hon. friend. He was of opinion,. that although ſome commercial queſtions were not finally arranged, yet it was better to leave thoſe queſtions for future adjuſtment, than longer to defer the negotiation for peace. He maintained, that under all the circumſtances of the country, peace was deſirable: and that his Majeſty's miniſters would have been extremely culpable if they had declined it. He begged leave to ſtate the circumſtances, in which this country was involved at the time the negotiation was begun. We were then left almoſt alone to contend with France. Auſtria had been obliged to comply with terms of peace dictated by the enemy. The German empire was at the mercy of France. We ourſelves were deſerted by our allies, two only excepted, and neither of them capable of affording us any effective aid; Naples and Portugal. We ſaw ourſelves, inſtead of be-

ing at the head of a formidable confederacy, now menaced by a league of our old allies, under the influence and direction of France. Such was our situation: and in this dilemma, peace was thought desirable in the opinion of ALL persons, of ALL parties, with very few exceptions. Ministers accordingly entered into negotiation: but they began it under prospects evidently very unfavourable, in the degraded state of Europe after the important event of the treaty of Luneville; and at a time when our ships were shut out almost from every port in Europe. Notwithstanding these disadvantageous appearances, ministers were determined to sustain the honour and importance of this country; and in their proposal to negotiate, they laid down three principles as the rules on which they meant to proceed: first, the complete integrity of the British empire; second, fidelity to our allies; and third, to obtain compensations out of the conquests we had made, as a counterpoise to the acquisitions of France on the continent. In these objects it was their firm purpose to persist; and the probability of their success in attaining them was considerably heightened by some events which gave a propitious turn to our affairs at that time; such were the victory on the second of April in the

Baltic,

Baltic, and the gallant behaviour of our army in Egypt, particularly on the 19th of March; circumſtances, which not a little contributed to create in the French government a diſpoſition for peace. At all events, miniſters meant to ſeek compenſation in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, as that ſeemed the moſt deſirable principle; and they have accordingly annexed to our dominions two of the greateſt naval ſtations in thoſe quarters of the globe.

In a ſpeech of great length, enlarged knowledge, and ſatisfactory explanation, lord Hawkeſbury proceeded to review the conduct of miniſters pending the negotiation, and to defend, againſt the objections of Mr. Windham and other members, thoſe ſeveral articles in the definitive treaty, which had incurred the higheſt degree of their cenſure. Of all incidents, which happened pending the negotiation, the moſt material, becauſe of all others the moſt alarming to Europe, was the eſtabliſhment of the Italian republic. "But (ſays his lordſhip) had we been diſpoſed to reſiſt the acceſſion of Buonaparte to the preſidency of the Ciſalpine republic, how could we have accompliſhed any thing without the aid of the continental powers? And how did the caſe ſtand? Buonaparte's newly acquired power was ſcarcely

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announced, when the cabinet of Berlin congratulated him; that of Vienna acquiefced; and Ruffia fhewed no fymptom of diffatisfaction. Would it then have been confidered wife and prudent in us alone to renew the war, on account of this event?"

The ceffion of Louifiana to France was another event, which had occurred fince the preliminary treaty, and which therefore fhould in the opinion of fome gentlemen have influenced minifters to refiftance. "I do not mean (fays lord Hawkefbury) to confider this as an indifferent object: but it fhould be recollected, that Louifiana is an old French fettlement; and that during the negotiation of the peace in 1763, a peace generally thought the moft triumphant ever made by this country, this fettlement was privately transferred by France to Spain: a tranfaction much more grofs, than that of which there was now complaint, becaufe Louifiana was referred to exprefsly in the treaty of 1763. As to the political advantages, which France can derive from this poffeffion, I doubt whether they can be of much confequence; I am confident however they are not of fuch confequence as to have juftified minifters in rejecting peace. Much has been faid of the influence which this poffeffion threatens to give France over

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the United States of America. To this I reply, it has been the policy of America, ſince the time of its ſeparation from England, to keep an equal balance between France and us. Such was the ſyſtem of general Waſhington; and ſuch is the ſyſtem of the ableſt ſtateſmen in America at the preſent day. The probability therefore is, that the poſſeſſion of Louiſiana now rendering France the natural rival of America, every maxim of ſound policy will incline her to cultivate a more intimate connection with this country."

On the non-renewal of treaties; Newfoundland; the Cape of Good Hope; Portugal; and Malta, he enlarged in vindication of the definitive treaty. Particularly on the latter he obſerved: "Gentlemen have dwelt much upon Malta. As to that I ſhall ſay, whether the arrangement be or be not as good as could have been conceived, it is as good as circumſtances would permit. A power to guarantee it, with a view to preſerve it from the dominion of France, was choſen. The offer was firſt made to Ruſſia; but ſuch is the change of politics in courts, that Ruſſia refuſed to guarantee: it was therefore put under the protection of Naples, a country, which from the contiguity of Sicily, has the deepeſt intereſt to take care that Malta ſhall not fall into the

hands of France. Nor is this all. We have moreover the guarantee of Auſtria and the principal powers of Europe, for the independence of that iſland."

"Upon the whole, on the general queſtion of the peace, his lordſhip was decidedly of opinion, that we never ſtood, at the concluſion of any treaty of peace, in ſo good a relative ſituation to France, as at preſent. He maintained, that no proſpect of farther acquiſitions ſhould induce us to proſecute hoſtilities. We were fatigued with the conteſt. By which he did not mean to ſay, we ſhould ſhrink from it if indiſpenſably neceſſary: far otherwiſe; for we felt that our reſources were perfectly adequate to any occaſion; but it was wiſer to foſter thoſe reſources; to promote our navigation and trade; and hold ourſelves always in readineſs to ſupport the importance, dignity, and intereſts of the empire. As it is wiſe to œconomize the reſources, ſo it will be wiſe to œconomize the ſpirit of Great Britain, and to conclude a peace of ſuch deſcription as had been concluded. The intereſts of the country were entire, and its honour was preſerved."

Lord Hawkeſbury ended his ſpeech of four hours, with moving an addreſs, which expreſſed approbation of the treaty.

Mr. Pole

Mr. Pole seconded Lord Hawkesbury. Mr. T. Grenville replied to Lord Hawkesbury. Mr. Dundas to Mr. Grenville. At three in the morning, on the motion of general Gascoigne, and with the perfect approbation of the minister, who wished all gentlemen should have full opportunity of delivering their sentiments on so weighty a concern, the house adjourned.

Friday, May 14.—The debate was resumed. Sir W. Young supported the original address, moved on Thursday by Mr. Windham.

Lord Castlereagh, in a very long reply, introduced this passage. "If I were now to inquire on what principle we should act, in order to re-establish our influence on the continent, I should not hesitate to say, that we ought to act on the principle of giving to France the means of acquiring maritime resources, and colonial advantages. There is not in the adoption of this principle so much to be feared, as some persons may be inclined to think: for if minutely investigated, it will be found to contain in it nothing contrary to the real and best interests of the country. From the moment France is enabled to acquire colonial and maritime resources, she has more than ever to dread the occurrence of hostilities; she has from that moment more

more juſt and ſerious cauſes to fear war." This aſſertion was proved by a compariſon of exports and imports in England and France, the reſult of which was to ſhew that France muſt avoid war if ſhe would recover her trade, and trade alone could reſtore he reſources. As to our own condition, we ſtood in a ſituation of great ſecurity. We had ſtrength and reſources, which would enable us to continue the ſtruggle, if ſuch was neceſſary.

General Maitland defended the treaty; declaring, that the more he conſidered the ſubject then before the houſe, and the more he viewed the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters in making peace, the more firmly was he perſuaded that it was a peace as good, as honourable, and as likely to be permanent, as any, which, under the preſent circumſtances of Europe, could be obtained for this country.

When lord Temple had ſpoken in reply to the arguments uſed by lord Hawkeſbury on the preceding, and by lord Caſtlereagh on the preſent evening; the maſter of the rolls (ſir William Grant) obſerved, that with reſpect to the acquiſitions of France, neither peace, nor any war, which it was in the power of this country to make, could wreſt them from her. But it had

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been ſaid, there was no neceſſity for peace. To that he would reply, "that whenever the nation ceaſed to have any rational proſpects of bettering her condition by carrying on war, ſhe was then under the moral neceſſity of putting an end to it; even if ſhe ſhould be able in every reſpect to go on with it." He ſaid it was incumbent on thoſe, who were for continuing the war, to point out the exiſtence of thoſe means, that were likely to effect the deſired purpoſe. As long as we had the aſſiſtance and cooperation of allies on the continent, ſo long was there a rational chance that things would be placed in a better ſituation; that the objects of the war would be attained; and, in ſhort, that the balance of Europe would be regulated and preſerved. It was under theſe circumſtances, that the overtures made by Bounaparte had been rejected. They were rejected, becauſe at the time they were offered, there was rational ground to hope that Europe would be placed in a better ſituation by perſevering in war, than by making peace. But it was found that we were no more able to recover Belgium from France, than to prevent the firſt conſul from placing himſelf at the head of the new Italian republic, or making himſelf maſter of Louiſiana. If therefore, by continuing the

the war, we were not able to recover Belgium, would it not be abſurd to renew the war for the purpoſe of preventing great part of Italy from being annexed to France? one would have been as impracticable as the other. The ſame obſervations applied ſtill more forcibly to the iſle of Elba. That place had freely been given up by Tuſcany, who had a right to do ſo; why then ſhould *we* inſiſt that it ſhould not be given up, and go to war if our deſire was not complied with?

Having intimated, that to any treaty of peace a volume of objections might be made; and having recounted and refuted the principle cavils at the terms of the preſent, he expreſſed his confidence that the peace now made would be found to anſwer the beſt purpoſes of pacification; and to put the country in ſuch a ſtate, that if any power ſhould preſume to diſturb our tranquillity, invade our privileges, injure our intereſts, or offend our character, we might be enabled to call forth every hand and heart in the country for their defence, with invigorated reſources, and augmented energy.

Dr. Lawrence having expreſſed diſſatisfaction, Mr. Bond ſaid, in point of juſtice, miniſters could then only be culpable for having concluded

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a peace on the terms it was concluded, if better could be obtained: but he had not heard even the aſſertion of a fact, or the ſhadow of an argument, to induce a belief that better terms were attainable. If not; how criminal would miniſters have been in continuing the war!

The chancellor of the Exchequer allowed that the definitive treaty differed in five points from the preliminary articles, viz. Newfoundland; the priſoners; Portugal; Malta; and the Cape: but from the two latter alone, all the danger, if any, could ariſe. Having explained the circumſtances, which belonged to the treaty of Badajos, he ſaid he was ſatisfied that the meaſures adopted with reſpect to the peace, were on the whole adviſable: that he had never given it falſe colours: that he had always been of opinion there was no ſafety or ſtrength for a miniſter without honour. Had the negotiation failed, it would have been his firſt wiſh to have laid before the houſe every circumſtance connected with it; and he muſt have had unworthy views, if he, or any of his Majeſty's miniſters, had in the courſe of their proceedings done any thing to tarniſh the honour of the country. After having taken a retroſpective view of the ſituation in which the continent of Europe was placed, and of our own reſources, he ſaid,

ſaid, he prayed earneſtly that peace might continue; and that France might act towards us with wiſdom and moderation; adding, that if we œconomized our reſources we ſhould ever be ready to defend our rights and privileges, if the encroaching power of France ſhould be made manifeſt towards us. "The ſentiments of miniſters, I can take upon me to ſay, are founded upon the moſt ſincere wiſh to preſerve the bleſſings of peace; and they will, with due precaution and conciliatory policy, endeavour to preſerve it. Indeed I flatter myſelf, that in calculating its probable duration, we may aſſign it as long an exiſtence as any peace concluded in the laſt century. If there be any diſpoſition in the enemy to miſuſe their power, if there be any diſpoſition, which I do not admit to have been ſhewn, to encroach upon our rights, the beſt ſecurity for repoſe is to preſent no point of weakneſs to any active rival. By maintaining confidence at home, and a ſyſtem of prudence and caution abroad, I ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe that our tranquillity will be ſhaken. I ſee nothing in the ſituation of Europe or of France that ſhould fill us with premature apprehenſions."

Mr. Sheridan, after a ſpeech of wit and irony, which excited much laughter in the houſe,

moved an amendment. The houſe called for the queſtion.

For leaving out the words of Mr. Windham's addreſs,—Ayes 276; Noes 20.—Majority 256.

The queſtion was then put upon Mr. Sheridan's amendment, which was negatived.

Lord Hawkeſbury's amendment was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

It was in words to this effect:

"That a humble addreſs be preſented to his "Majeſty; to return his Majeſty the thanks of "the houſe for having been graciouſly pleaſed to "communicate to them the definitive treaty "of peace; to repreſent to his Majeſty, that we "have already declared our full approbation of "the preliminary articles of peace, which, by his "Majeſty's command, were laid before this houſe; "and we are ſatisfied that his Majeſty has, on the "whole, wiſely conſulted the intereſts of his "people in having concluded a definitive treaty, "founded on the baſis of theſe preliminaries. "That although we deeply lament the calamitous "events which have taken place on the continent "of Europe in the courſe of the war, we cannot "but reflect with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that "the wild and deſtructive deſigns with which "this country was threatened at its commence-"ment, have been effectually fruſtrated; that his

"Majeſty's

"Majeſty's dominions have not only been pre-
"ſerved entire, but valuable and important ac-
"quiſitions have been annexed to them; that
"our commercial and maritime ſuperiority have
"been maintained and improved, and that we
"continue in the confirmed poſſeſſion of thoſe
"means of exertion which the experience of
"the late conteſt has proved more than ever
"to be equal, even amidſt the new and unex-
"ampled difficulties of other nations of Europe,
"to maintain the independence, and aſſert the
"honour of this country. That impreſſed with
"theſe ſentiments, we are on our parts ear-
"neſtly ſolicitous to cultivate and improve the
"bleſſings of peace, and to concur in ſuch
"meaſures as his Majeſty in his wiſdom ſhall
"judge to be beſt calculated to prevent occaſions
"of miſunderſtanding with foreign powers. That
"we rely on his Majeſty's known diſpoſition to
"adhere with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity to his
"engagements; but that we entertain at the ſame
"time a perfect confidence that his Majeſty will
"not fail to employ that vigilance and attention
"which the preſent ſituation of Europe demands;
"and above all, that his Majeſty will uniformly
"determine and prepare to defend againſt every
"encroachment, the great ſources of the wealth,
"commerce, and naval power of the empire.
"That

"That we are fully perſuaded his Majeſty's faith-
"ful ſubjects will at all times be ready to ſupport
"the honour of his Majeſty's crown, and the
"rights, laws, and liberties of their country, with
"the ſame zeal, energy, and fortitude which they
"have invariably manifeſted during the war, now
"happily brought to a concluſion."

His addreſs was ordered to be preſented to his Majeſty. The houſe adjourned at half paſt four in the morning.

This deciſion of parliament in favour of the definitive treaty, was received with univerſal ſatisfaction by the country. To the miniſter it was with reaſon thought highly honourable, that the concurrent voice both of the parliament and of the united kingdoms ſhould ſanction his treaty; particularly when on a retroſpect of paſt years it was recollected, that the peace in 1762, though approved by parliament, was condemned by the people; and the peace in 1783, though popular in the nation, was condemned by parliament.

And now, when the queſtion is for ever determined, and conſiderations of party can have no avail, let us fairly and freely aſk,

First, in a general way:

Though the war in its commencement was unavoidable; and though for many years the termi-

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nation of it was not only inexpedient, but impracticable; yet did it thence follow, that however the politics of France might vary, a change of meaſures in Britain was NEVER to ſucceed? Did it thence follow, that another ſyſtem, ariſing from a new combination of continental facts, from a new poſture of affairs in other countries, and from a new relation of ſeveral foreign kingdoms with reſpect to themſelves, and with reſpect to us, could NEVER be adopted at home without involving the parliament and the nation in the charge of inconſiſtency? Conſiderate individuals, in the common occurrences of life, uſually form their opinions and determine their line of conduct, acccording to the nature of the caſe before them, when that caſe, in itſelf, connections, and dependencies, appears to be ſo far ſettled, as at leaſt to afford ground on which with reaſon to expect it will remain for ſome duration, the ſame, undiſturbed, and unaltered. Bodies politic ſhould act in a ſimilar manner. And where, after due obſervation and mature weighing of all circumſtances, experience and foreſight will juſtify preſumption of ſome ſtability, there adaptation of counſels and of proceedings to an order of things apparently far from being fluctuating, ſo little deſerves cenſure as an inſtance of

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light mutability, that it rather merits commendation as a mark of wiſdom.

Secondly: Not diſtruſting the pacific declarations of France, has not the nation ceaſed to apprehend danger internal or external, occaſioned by the means of that country, to our liberties civil and religious? Yet the defence of theſe invaluable bleſſings was among the chief of the real cauſes, which induced us originally to undertake the war. In proportion as the ſecurity of them is increaſed, the continuance of war becomes leſs neceſſary, and of courſe leſs juſt.

Thirdly: But even ſuppoſing there do exiſt ſome grounds for ſuſpicion; yet when ALL our POWERFUL allies have given up the conteſt, and France has profeſſed an inclination to deſiſt from hoſtilities againſt Great Britain, was it not adviſable; or rather, was it not incumbent on the government of this country, at leaſt, to make experiment of the ſincerity avowed by our enemies?

Fourthly: What if there ſtill remain treaties unſettled, and buſineſs not yet perfectly finiſhed; was there never to be given opportunity and leiſure for making an effort to commence an arrangement? and has it never been ſeen in concerns of the greateſt magnitude, that when once

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a beginning has been made, when once affairs have been put into a train; the conductors of them, guided by prudent regard to times, circumſtances, poſſibilities, neceſſities, have at length adjuſted all differences which related to expectations, claims, and advantages?

Fifthly: Are there any who fear that in conſequence of peace will enſue a diminution in that part of our revenue, which ariſes from commerce? This evil brings its own remedy. For, as the burthens of war will be alleviated, the aids of commercial duties will be leſs requiſite. Probably, however, thoſe duties will very little decreaſe: for, on the ratified and permanent ceſſation of hoſtilities, our trade will find out new channels, and thus enlarge and multiply the ſources of revenue.

But now for points more particular. Would it not have been iniquitous, had we refuſed to indemnify France for ſupporting Ruſſian priſoners, who had been troops in our pay? Was it not ſound policy to relinquiſh conquered poſſeſſions, for the defence and retaining of which we had not ſufficient ſtrength? and was it not alſo ſound policy to diſcern, that extenſion of empire beyond national ſtrength, tends rather to increaſe weakneſs than augment force? Conſidering the enormous

mous expence at which the Cape had been maintained, was it not better to ſurrender it and make it a free port, and ſo have the advantage of it without the charge; than by renewing the war incur ſtill farther expence; and, after all, run the riſk of loſing it? Provided we have acceſs to it as a free port, the retaining of it as our ſole poſſeſſion can be no great object; or at leaſt not an object to be purchaſed ſo dearly as it would have been, by the certain additional expence of keeping it during the continuance of a renewed war; by the prolongation of all the evils inſeparable from hoſtilities; and by the danger to which we ſhould have expoſed other poſſeſſions far more valuable.

Thus defenſible is the ſurrender of the Cape, even on the ſuppoſition that its conveniences are ſtill as requiſite for our Eaſtern traders, as they were formerly conſidered. But, in fact, its conveniences are not ſo requiſite. For, by great improvements in the art of navigation, and conſequently increaſed facility in purſuing their voyages, our India and China captains now ſteer their courſes in higher latitudes. They derive from theſe new and better directions two conſiderable advantages; exempt, as they are, from the neceſſity of touching at the Cape; and ſecured alſo from encountering the enemies cruiſers, which in time of war infeſt the vicinity of that ſtation.

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The importance of the Cape to the Britiſh empire is yet farther diminiſhed, by the acquiſition of Ceylon and the fine harbour at Trincomale.

If Portugal, if Spain, if the king of Etruria, thought proper to cede, the firſt ſome of her Portugueſe and American territories; the ſecond, Louiſiana; the third, Elba; brave and valiant though we are as a people, and high though we rank in the ſcale of European kingdoms, ſo that with juſtice we may aſſume to ourſelves a due degree of national conſequence; yet by what authority could we dictate terms to foreign courts, and forbid them to act at their own diſcretion? We are ready enough to condemn the inſolence of France: ſhall we forget, that by arrogating imperious ſway we fall preciſely into the ſame inſolence? If Buonaparte had preſcribed to us in theſe terms;—"You ſhall reduce your navy; for I think your acceſſion of maritime ſtrength is dangerous;—you ſhall ſurrender Trinidad and Ceylon; for your colonial iſlands are more than ſufficient already;—you ſhall relinquiſh your vaſt acquiſitions on the continent of India, for they are exceſſive:" the generous pride of Britons would have ſpurned at the haughtineſs of theſe mandates. How then could we preſume to inſiſt, that he ſhould not have acceſſion to his continental power, by openly taking on him the controul of Italy? And if Ruſſia,

Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Auſtria oppoſed it not, how were we to prevent it? To have renewed the war, becauſe he ſtyled himſelf preſident of the Italian republic, would moreover have been in *fact* contending about a *name* only: for in reality, before this open avowal, he *virtually* poſſeſſed, though he had not *formally* aſſumed and announced this ſupremacy. Of all objections to the Definitive Treaty, none are ſo groundleſs, and therefore none ſo unreaſonable, as thoſe which are made to the ſurrender of Malta. In what conſiſted the injuſtice of France, when her arms attacked and took that Iſland? Undeniably in this; that by graſping rapacity it ſeized an Iſland heretofore neutral and independent. We appeared there to reſcue it from foreign domination; not to capture it as a common ſpoil of war. If France on her ſide would relinquiſh all pretenſions to Malta, and would bind herſelf not to interfere either with the place or its inhabitants; conſiſtently with our own original principles we could do no more than provide for the fulfilment of that reſtriction. And in fact it ſeems utterly impoſſible to have guarded the independence of Malta with greater precaution, than what has been adopted. We are not to leave it, till there has been ſecured, and acknowledged, a ſtrong guarantee. If in the guarantee of ſo

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many powers there is yet no confidence, the fault will lie, not in our minister, but in the ambition and falsehood of intriguing enemies. It is true, indeed, ambition and falsehood ever have been the characteristics, and ever will be the prevailing crimes of some continental powers. Wherefore, knowing this, as we do from experience, to the question "How long will the peace continue?" we may reply, just as long as all other treaties of peace have remained in force, viz. till it is their interest to violate its conditions, and till they have strength to re-commence a war. Such however has always been the case. Yet the consideration of this circumstance never deterred former statesmen; nor ought it to have deterred the present minister from making peace. In all situations, after duly weighing the force of existing and the probability of contingent circumstances, the BEST is to be done. It was BEST, not to lay this country under additional incumbrances, for no adequate purpose. When there was no prospect of weakening the enemy to any considerable extent, it was BEST to stop the accumulation of burthens, by endeavouring to establish peace; and thus close the contest, with strength still powerful, and resources yet abundant. The sin of violating a solemn treaty, if violated it should be, will recoil on those, who shall here-

after

after incur the deteſtable guilt of treachery and perfidy, a guilt, which this nation has courage to reſent, and force to chaſtiſe. All that, in the ſituation of Great Britain and Europe, could reaſonably be expected, Mr. Addington has done for the repoſe of both; he has done it too with ſagacity, moderation, firmneſs, prudence, honour. With ſagacity, in diſcerning the time when peace would be ſeaſonable. With moderation, in offering ſuch conditions as an enemy could accept without ſelf-degradation. With firmneſs, in perſevering till he could ſurmount all obſtacles which impeded the negotiation. With prudence, in three particulars. In the interval between the preliminary and definitive treaties, the miniſter was placed in a ſituation extremely delicate. Many doubts were entertained concerning the ſincerity of the Chief Conſul; "cui nec credere; nec, (non credendo ne infeſtior fieret) fidem abrogare, ſatis erat tutum."—(Liv. 3. 16.). Such was the miniſter's conduct at this critical period, that at once it ſhewed and conciliated good faith. By reſtoring to France her Weſt India iſlands, he preſented an object, which might divert her attention from the ſole exerciſe of arms; and held out an inducement, which might invite her to a purſuit more ſalutary to Europe in general, the cultivation and enlargement of foreign commerce.

By leaving to the effects of their own complicated follies, the continental ſtates now ſubjugated by France, he has probably taken the moſt effectual means of eventually diminiſhing her exorbitant dominion. Not to Philip only are theſe words applicable: "Think not his preſent proſperity is fixed ſo immoveably as to be of perpetual duration. Even among thoſe, who appear to be connected with him in friendſhip, there are ſome who hate, there are ſome who fear, there are ſome who envy him. Whatever viciſſitudes are incident to the affairs of any other man, the ſame be aſſured are attached to his."—(Demoſth. Phil. 1.) It is not in human nature to endure uſurpation longer than neceſſity and compulſion enforce ſubmiſſion. "An credi poſſe ullum populum, aut hominem denique, in eâ conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutiùs quàm neceſſe ſit, manſurum? Ibi pacem eſſe fidam, ubi voluntarii pacati ſint; neque eo loco, ubi ſervitutem eſſe velint, fidem ſperandam eſſe."—(Liv. 8, 21.) When the ſeveral powers are renovated in force, it is far from improbable that they will underſtand their true policy; will coaleſce; and make a vigorous ſtruggle for independence. As in theſe three inſtances Mr. Addington has evinced prudence, ſo in every thing connected with the whole negotiation he has ſhewn honour

perſonal

perſonal and private, national and public: for in effecting his great purpoſe he derived to himſelf no one advantage, but that which with every Engliſhman he ſhared in common, that which with every Engliſhman he had conſtantly in view, and which he has ſecured; the maintenance of Britiſh empire, Britiſh integrity, and Britiſh glory. Theſe in his patriotiſm he holds moſt dear: theſe in his vigilance he will watchfully guard: theſe in his magnanimity he will ſuffer no foreign power whatever to injure with impunity.

Tueſday, June 1.—This day, according to royal proclamation, dated 26th of April, was obſerved as a day of general thankſgiving for the bleſſing of peace. The ſolemnity was kept with the greateſt decorum and reverence throughout the kingdom. —It was ſingular that the council ſhould fix on the firſt of June. It did not eſcape the recollection of a ſenſible preacher, that this was the very day on which lord Howe gained an important victory. "Upon the anniverſary of this very day, on which we are now aſſembled, the firſt great and important blow was ſtruck, whoſe deciſive effects, by increaſing the ardour of our ſeamen, and diſpiriting thoſe of our enemies, led the way to a ſeries of naval victories unparalleled in the annals of our country, and the moſt brilliant that

ever

ever adorned the page of hiſtory." (See p. 8. of a ſermon preached at the cathedral church of Wincheſter, on Tueſday the 1ſt of June, 1802, by the Rev. John Garnett.)

Tueſday June 22.—Of ſuch magnitude was the definitive treaty; ſo intereſting was the debate on that ſubject; and ſo entirely has it occupied and ſatisfied the public mind; that although in the interval of ſome few weeks paſt, the chancellor of the Exchequer has brought before the houſe much buſineſs of various deſcriptions; particularly his plan for conſolidating the ſinking funds, which Mr. Pitt conceived would improve and invigorate them; yet ſcarcely any occurrence has been thought of ſufficient importance to attract any conſiderable degree of notice, till ſince Mr. Tierney has moved certain financial reſolutions, confeſſedly drawn up with ability. Other reſolutions, of the ſame nature, were this day ſubmitted to the houſe by the chancellor of the Exchequer. The following is a copy of them:

"1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of Jan. 1786, 238,231,248 *l.* excluſive of long and ſhort annuities and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550 *l.* That on the 1ſt of Feb. 1793, ſtock to the amount of 10,242,100 *l.* had been purchaſed by the commiſſioners

missioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.* And that, on the 1st of Feb. 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 125,707*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of Feb. 1802, to 180,344,792*l.* and the annuities to 1,247,843*l.*

"2. That the capital of the public funded debt created since the 1st of Feb. 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of Feb. 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633*l.* 3 per cent. stock, created by advances to the emperor of Germany, is, 351,125,730*l.* That the amount of long annuities created during the same period is 320,461*l.* per ann. exclusive of 230,000*l.* annuity created by advances to the emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1802: that

that of these sums 22,348,000*l.* capital, and 9,791*l.* long annuities are on account of Ireland; leaving a permanent debt of 328,777,730*l.* charged on Great Britain; and that on the 1st of Feb. 1802, 19,703,596*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt created since the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 309,074,134*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 310,670*l.* per ann.

"3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904*l.* redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to, the commissioners, and 18,001,148*l.* transferred to them, on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1802, 489,418,926*l.*; together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103*l.* and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410*l.* after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

"4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000*l.* being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793 was 1,427,143*l.* being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1802 be estimated at 5,800,000*l.*

being

being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000*l.* is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged, which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for the redemption of the land tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

" 5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of Jan. 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt; and on the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt; in which sum 10,325,000*l.* was included, on the 5th of Jan. 1793, the interest of 10,242,100*l.* capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143*l.* and that the said sum of 10,325,000*l.* was reduced on the 5th of Jan. 1802, by reason of stock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, and by diminution in the charges of management on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169*l.* in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308*l.* capital stock redeemed, and the

amount

amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, and transferred to the commiſſioners, making together the ſum of 1,334,186 *l.*

"6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain, created ſince the 5th of Jan. 1793, (including 924,199 *l.* permanent intereſt and charge on loan of the preſent ſeſſion) of which 48,761 *l.* 17 *s.* will not become payable till after the 5th of Jan. 1806, amounts to 13,597,594 *l.* per annum, of which 10,544,383 *l.* is for intereſt, annuity, and charges of management of ſuch part of the ſaid debt as was unredeemed on the 1ſt of Feb. 1802, and 3,053,211 *l.* ariſing from 1 *l.* per cent. ſinking fund, on the capital of part of the ſaid debt and intereſt of ſtock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735 *l.* per annum, is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the intereſt of certain loans by his Majeſty the emperor of Germany.

"7. That the amount of the outſtanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of Jan. 1802, excluſive of the unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,416,220 *l.*; that the ſurplus of ways and means for the year 1801, was 114,000 *l.*; and 99,886 *l.* remained unpaid, and applicable to the public

ſervice,

ſervice, on the grant to the queen of Portugal, reducing the amount of demands unprovided for, to 4,202,334*l.* of which 3,920,289*l.* has been provided for in the preſent ſeſſion.

"8. That the unfunded debt, (excluſive of the anticipation in the uſual form of certain duties annually voted) amounted on the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 8,925,422*l.* and on the 5th of Jan. 1802, to 21,179,170*l.* excluſive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000*l.* advanced by the bank, without intereſt, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which ſum of 21,279,170*l.* 10,113,493*l.* has been paid off or provided for in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion.

"9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes exiſting on the 5th of Jan. 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259*l.* and that taxes were afterwards impoſed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786, to 938,000*l.* making together 11,132,000*l.*

"10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes exiſting previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000*l.* impoſed as above ſtated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000*l.* ariſing from the conſolidation act, and from duties impoſed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of Jan.

 1793,

1793, - - - - - - - - - 14,284,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1794, - - - 13,941,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1795, - - - 13,858,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1796, - - - 13,557,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1797, - - - 14,292,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1798, - - - 13,332,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1799, - - - 14,275,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1800, - - - 15,743,109*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1801, and on the 5th of Jan. 1802, including 1,275,544*l.* the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported, 14,497,226*l.* —which laſt ſum, after deducting the duties ariſing from the conſolidation act, and thoſe impoſed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of Jan. 1784, together with that of the taxes impoſed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226*l.*

"11. That the actual net produce of the taxes impoſed ſince the 5th of Jan. 1793, amounted in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, to 9,187,288*l.* and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, amounted to 23,684,514*l.* including 1,275,544*l.* paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.

"12. That the total groſs receipt within the year (deducting re-payments, diſcounts, and drawbacks; and alſo deducting all loans and

monies

monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 12,292,197 *l.*; in the year 1798, 30,176,303 *l.*; in the year 1799, 34,750,976 *l.*; in the year 1800, 33,535,016 *l.*; and in the year 1801, 35,368,376 *l.*;—being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197 *l.*; and compared with 1798, of 5,192,073 *l.*; and compared with 1799, of 617,400 *l.*; and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360 *l.*

"13. That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 13,122,235 *l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 11,690,829 *l.*: That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 19,659,358 *l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 18,685,390 *l.* That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032 *l.*; making an increase as compared with 1783, of 10,194,797 *l.* and with 1792, of 12,657,674 *l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 26,964,038 *l.*; making an increase as compared

 with

with the average to Jan. 1784, of 15,273,209 *l.*; and with the average to the 5th of Jan. 1793, of 8,278,648 *l.*; and that the real value of imports in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, supposing the imports from the East Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000 *l.*

"14. That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 10,409,713 *l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 8,616,660 *l.*; that the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 18,336,851 *l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 14,771,049 *l.*: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 25,719,979 *l.*; making an increase as compared with 1783 of 15,310,266 *l.*; and with 1792, of 7,383,128 *l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 21,631,050 *l.*; making an increase as compared with the average to 5th of Jan. 1784, of 13,014,390 *l.* and with the average to 5th of Jan. 1793, of 6,860,001 *l.*; and that the real value of British manufactures

exported

exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000*l.*

"15. That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the of 5th Jan. 1784, was 4,332,909*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 4,263,930*l.*: That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 6,568,348*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 5,468,014*l.*: That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 16,523,480*l.*; making an increase as compared with 1783 of 12,190,571*l.*; and with 1792, of 9,955,132*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 14,104,700*l.*; making an increase as compared with the average to Jan. 5th, 1784, of 9,840,770*l.*; and with the average to Jan. the 5th, 1793, of 8,636.686*l.*; and that the real value of foreign merchandise exported, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000*l.*

"16. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year

in which the regifter act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172; and the number of feamen navigating the fame 108,962: In the year 1792, the number of veffels was 16,079; their tonnage 1,540,145; and the number of feamen navigating the fame 118,286: and in the year 1801, the number of veffels was 19,772; their tonnage 2,037,317; and the number of men 143,987; being an increafe of 5,462 fhips, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1788; and of 3,693 fhips, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

"17. That the total fum to be raifed in Great Britain in the year 1802, may be eftimated as follows: viz.

	£.
"Intereft of public funded debt, charges of management, and finking fund, on the 5th of Jan. 1802, after deducting intereft payable by Ireland - - - - - - - - -	22,444,564
"Intereft, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of Jan. 1802, and 5th of Jan. 1803, on ftock created by loans in the prefent feffion - -	665,422
"Intereft on Exchequer bills -	750,000
"Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, according to the	

articles

articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739 *l.*	£. 1,356,828
" Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before, pensions on hereditary revenue ditto, militia and deserters' warrants ditto, bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. ditto, including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000 *l.* repaid by parliament -	1,000,000
" Charges of management of revenue the same as last year - - -	2,024,697
" Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue - - - - -	28,241,511
" Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1802 for Great Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344 *l.* including therein the separate charges on Great Britain -	35,532,371
	63,773,882

" Advance

" Advance to Ireland	2,000,000		
" Interest payable for imperial loans -	497,596		£.
			2,497,596
			66,271,478

" 18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting repayments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted, in the year ended 5th of Jan. 1802, to - 29,220,536

" Estimated produce to the 5th of April, 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament - 2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:

" Repayments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery - - - - - 862,000

" And the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan on account of Great Britain, of - - - - - - - - 23,000,000

" And a loan for Ireland, of - 2,000,000

" And by Exchequer bills to be charged on supplies 1803 - - - 5,000,000

" And

[library stamp]

" And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - -	1,600,000
" Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the queen of Portugal - - - - - -	213,886
" Interest on land tax contracted to be paid for by instalments - -	25,000
" Arrears of income tax - - -	2,500,000
" Making in the whole the sum of	66,821,422

" 19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of Jan. 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expences for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to 16,816,985*l.*

	£.
" But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at - - - - - - - - - - -	15,969,178

" With which estimate the actual expence of the year 1792 nearly agreed.

" In

"In the above ſum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000*l.* from which is to be deducted the charge of ſtock extinguiſhed by the redemption of land tax on the 5th of Jan. 1802 - - - - - - - £. 540,000

15,429,178

"That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created ſince 1793, exclusive of intereſt payable by Ireland, is - - - - 13,597,594

"That the additional charge to be incurred for increaſed amount of Exchequer bills outſtanding, is about 140,000

"Intereſt of money for ſatisfying increaſed navy debt, at 5*l.* per cent. is about - - - - - - 270,000

"That the additional charge incurred on the conſolidated fund, is 390,000

"That the additional charge incurred for a ſum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is - - - - - - - - - - - 200,000

"And that the increaſed expences of the peace eſtabliſhment

(excluſive

(exclufive of any charges to be incurred by intereft on further fums to be paid on winding up the expences of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military eftablifhments, but allowing for increafe of pay, and other expences), may be eftimated at - - - - - - - - 700,000

"And alfo exclufive of 497,000*l.* intereft on loans, due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be eftimated at 30,726,772

"20. That adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending Jan. 5, 1802, the fum of 1,275,544*l.* paid for corn bounties, and the fum of 1,600,000*l.* being the eftimated deficiency of certain duties in the fame year, the income applicable to the peace eftablifhment, may be eftimated as follows, viz.

Old permanent taxes - - -	£. 14,497,226
New permanent taxes - - -	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - - - - - - -	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes, 1801	864,319

Taxes

Taxes imposed in 1802 - - -	4,000,000
Land and Malt, after deducting the land tax redeemed - - - -	2,060,000
	£. 32,208,833

"And that a further sum of 454,340 *l.* arising from annuities which will expire at the periods undermentioned, viz.

In 1805 - -	£. 56,554
— 1806 - - -	8,152
— 1807 - -	15,515
— 1808 - -	374,119
	£. 454,340

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate, and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 *l.* per cent. would amount to 1,491,893 *l.* which sums are, exclusive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenue in India.

The chancellor of the Exchequer having expressed a wish that the debate on his resolutions should be adjourned to Thursday, Mr. Tierney hoped

hoped there would be found little or no difference between the resolutions of the right hon. gentleman and himself; and therefore he saw no reason why the discussion should not be adjourned altogether. The resolutions would speak for themselves. If, however, a discussion was thought necessary, he wished it might be on Friday.

The chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was anxious that every gentleman should be in possession of the resolutions, in case the subject should be discussed; and most readily agreed that the day should be altered to Friday.

The debate was accordingly adjourned till Friday.

That a statement thus copious in financial communication should be of very considerable extent, is unavoidable. In its nature, however, it is so intimately connected with the official duties of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and is so calculated to satisfy Men of Business, that it was not to be omitted merely on account of its length. It is moreover obvious to suggest, that if examination of it has been an exercise of patience, the framing of it must have been infinitely laborious, and could have been the result only of deep research, accurate precision, and exact calculation.

Thursday, June 24.—As this country, in the

true

true ſpirit of humane benevolence, and chriſtian charity, afforded an aſylum to thouſands of the French emigrants, it was an intereſting event, that, on May 24, the French government paſſed an act in their favour. The effect of it is now viſible; numerous bodies of French are taking their departure from this kingdom. The benefit of this act, though not univerſally, is yet widely extended; and the time given for claiming its indulgences is till the 23d of September, 1802.

Friday, June 25.—According to the order of the day, the debate on the Financial Reſolutions, which Mr. Addington and Mr. Tierney had ſeverally laid before the houſe, was now reſumed.

Mr. Tierney ſaid, he was merely deſirous that his reſolutions ſhould be placed upon the journals, and that he was very indifferent whether this was done by their being negatived, or by the previous queſtion moved upon them. He ſhould not take up the time of the houſe with any remarks, as the difference between him and the right hon. gentleman was inconſiderable, and his chief object was to have his opinion recorded. He concluded by moving the firſt reſolution.

The chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, he ſhould trouble the houſe with very few obſervations

upon

upon the resolutions moved by the hon. gentleman. Thus much, however, he would remark: in estimating the amount of the national debt, he thought the hon. gentleman was not justified in charging the valuation of the long annuities. He might as well have valued the short annuities; but neither of them could be justly considered as adding to the mass of the debt. The amount, by deducting this article, would be reduced two millions. In the 6th resolution the hon. gentleman had estimated the sum applicable to the reduction of the national debt too low. He ought to have included the dividends received during the last quarter by the commissioners, and the whole would then have amounted to 5,800,000*l.* In computing the produce of the permanent taxes, he ought certainly to have made an allowance for the sum paid away in corn bounties, and for the loss sustained by the stoppage of the distilleries. When that addition was made, the produce of the permanent taxes for the last year would be found to amount to 23,684,514*l.* being more than in 1799—the most flourishing year our revenues had ever known. He was satisfied that the country had ample means to bear all its burthens, and that we might confidently look forward to a long period

riod of national profperity. As the hon. gentleman's refolutions differed fo immaterially from his own, he did not feel it confiftent with his duty to negative them. He therefore begged leave to move the previous queftion.

Mr. Tierney obferved, his only reafon for not valuing the fhort annuities was becaufe he knew no way of valuing them. He furely was juftified in including the long annuities, fince the Legiflature, in the finking fund act, had confidered them as a part of the national debt. In the way in which the right hon. gentleman had framed his refolution about the finking fund, he was quite correct at ftating it at 5,800,000*l.* but he himfelf had, as on former years, eftimated it at what it was on the 2d of February preceding.

Mr. Nicholas Vanfittart coincided in arguments and opinion with the chancellor of the Exchequer.

The chancellor of the Exchequer then rofe to ftate the fubftance of his own refolutions. Though the hon. gentleman and himfelf, he faid, agreed in form, yet with regard to the financial fituation of the country, they differed widely in fact. He did not complain of what the hon. gentleman had inferted in his refolutions, but what he had omitted. His own attempt to fupply the deficiency, had

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been made with the view of effacing any falſe impreſſion which might have been left on the public mind. He then read a paper, which, at great length, and with very particular minuteneſs, detailed the amount of taxes, the number of ſhips, the value of exports and imports, &c. &c. Having at laſt concluded this ſtatement, he congratulated the houſe upon the happy ſituation in which the country ſtood. We were amply able to ſatisfy every demand that could be made upon us; we were able, and that too without much difficulty, even to bear new burthens, if it ſhould be neceſſary to make freſh exertions in defence of our independence and our honour; but he thanked God! he anticipated no ſuch neceſſity. When the country had flouriſhed ſo much during war, what might not be expected from peace! In 1786, the ſinking fund was to the national debt as 1 to 238; now it was as 1 to 84. When we had been diſcharging our incumbrances during war, how rapidly ſhould we proceed in diſcharging them during peace?

The re-payment of the Imperial loan might ſoon be expected; and we might hereafter hope to ſhare in the territorial revenues of India; and the intereſt of the four and five per cents. might be ſpeedily reduced. He thought it was impoſſible

to look forward with apprehenſion. He was happy to think that there was no great arrear to be paid off, as at former periods reſembling the preſent. No miniſter had ever provided for the expences of a war like his predeceſſor. Beſides, means had already been taken to wind up the public accounts, and ſo much had never been done before during the firſt year of peace.

Mr. Nicholas Vanſittart ſaid he thought he could eaſily prove that our commerce had nothing to fear from the return of peace. The war had not favoured it; it had flouriſhed in ſpite of the war. Except to the captured iſlands, we enjoyed from the war no branch of trade; and that was not to be compared with thoſe of which it deprived us. Our taxes muſt increaſe, becauſe our conſumption increaſed. Taking the average of the three years before the war, and the laſt three years, 700 ton of wine was uſed yearly during the latter period more than during the former; upwards of 400 millions of pounds of tea; and 933 cwt. of ſugar. The capital lately employed in loans and contracts would now be turned to productive induſtry. During the eight years before the war, 750 acts paſſed for local improvement; and during the laſt 8 years, 1172. Peace would give a new energy to theſe exertions, and dur-

ing the prefent feffion more private bufinefs had actually been done than was ever before known. To fhew that our commerce did not gain by the war, he fhould prove that the commerce of neutral nations had advanced ftill more rapidly.

The honourable gentleman here read a variety of papers, fhewing the prodigious advances made of late years by the Swedes, the Danes, but above all by the Americans. If we were to fuffer from the peace, it certainly would be immediately after its arrival; and indeed it had been faid that our trade had experienced complete ftagnation. But the truth was that our exports and imports, during the quarter ending the 5th of April, exceeded what they were in the correfponding quarter in the year 1801, always noted for its profperity. During this quarter in 1801, the official value of exports was 5,105,000*l*.—the real value 7,400,000*l*. During the fame quarter in this year, the official value of exports was 5,365,000*l*. and the real value 8,343,000*l*. an increafe of nearly a million. The imports in the fame proportion.

Sir F. Baring, as a mercantile man, begged leave to declare it, as his opinion, that our trade muft fuffer feverely. There were many articles, fuch as coffee, which we imported to the value of many millions, in which our trade would now be

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inconſiderable. There were others, ſuch as tea, which we might retain by our own prudence, but which at preſent there was every proſpect of our loſing, from their being taxed to a degree which they were quite unable to bear.

The chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, he had heard the hon. baronet with concern and diſappointment. Without any diſreſpect to him, he muſt flatly deny his poſition. Of the trade, which we now poſſeſſed, we ſhould loſe none, except that to the ceded iſlands; a trade, that produced ſcarcely any thing to the revenue, as our own colonies ſupplied our conſumption of tea and ſugar, and the produce of the reſt was re-exported to foreign countries. He admitted that it was neceſſary to look with vigilance and caution to our tea trade. But the apprehenſion of our recurring to the meaſure adopted in 1784, would diſcourage ſmugglers from renewing their plans. Beſides, it muſt require years before they can eſtabliſh their depôts, while in a few days an act might paſs to render all their ſchemes abortive, and to plunge them in irretrievable ruin.

The previous queſtion was then carried, and the chancellor of the Exchequer's reſolutions were put and carried: And properly ſo. For as the chancellor of the Exchequer had on ſeveral occa-

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ſions given evident proofs of his profound knowledge in all financial concerns however complex, and had ſhewn himſelf poſſeſſed of moſt perfect inſight into all the arrangements and all the branches of that very material department; he was judged moſt competent to aſcertain the ſolidity of that ground on which with confident aſſurance he formed his expectations.

It is more than probable, that before the next ſeſſion of parliament, the improved ſtate of our finances will demonſtrate the chancellor of the Exchequer to have been far from ſanguine, beyond what facts will juſtify.

Monday, June 28.—His Majeſty went this day to the houſe of peers. The commons, with their ſpeaker, attended.

The ſpeaker, on preſenting the "Conſolidated Fund," and other Bills, addreſſed His Majeſty thus:

"*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

"It is my duty to preſent to Your Majeſty the bills for completing the ſupplies which your Majeſty's faithful commons have granted for the ſervice of the year.

"With heartfelt gratitude, they acknowledge Your Majeſty's paternal goodneſs and wiſdom, which

which have already enabled them to make a large reduction of the public burthens, by the termination of a long and eventful war: a war juſt and neceſſary in its origin, conducted with energy, ſuſtained with fortitude, ſignalized by triumphs ſurpaſſing the fame of our anceſtors, and obtained in countries unviſited by their arms, and concluded at length by a peace, which has added new conqueſts to Your crown, and given repoſe and ſafety to theſe its ancient dominions, whoſe peers and commons have now, for the ſecond year, the happineſs of being aſſembled in one united parliament at the foot of Your throne.

"Thus circumſtanced, Your Majeſty's faithful commons not only look forward with a ſanguine hope that they may not ſoon be called to the hard neceſſity of augmenting the public debt by future burthens; but they have deemed it their duty to look back to the debt already incurred: and with the ſame characteriſtic ſpirit, which firſt laid the foundation of an effectual ſyſtem for the extinction of the national debt, they have proceeded to arrange and ſettle a plan for accelerating that extinction, by pledging the future application of their growing means to the accompliſhment of the ſame great object.

"At a time, when their attention has been directed

rected to these considerations, and when they have alſo found that taxes of unprecedented weight, though wiſely impoſed to meet the exigences of ſuch a war, might nevertheleſs be now prudently repealed; it has given the higheſt ſatisfaction to Your Majeſty's faithful commons, to relieve thoſe preſſing demands which the general difficulties of the times had caſt upon the proviſion aſſigned by parliament for the ſupport of Your Majeſty's houſehold, and the honour and dignity of your crown: for this country has not now to learn that its Monarchy is the beſt and ſtrongeſt ſecurity for its liberties; and that the ſplendour of the Throne reflects luſtre and dignity upon the whole nation.

"Theſe, Sire, are amongſt the memorable events of a ſeſſion thus far protracted; upon which we reflect with a conſcious ſatisfaction, that to the diſcharge of great duties we have brought proportionate exertions. And we now indulge the flattering hope, that we may ſafely apply ourſelves to cultivate the arts of peace; arts long dear to Your Majeſty, and congenial to the temper of Your people, whoſe ſpirit of enterpriſe in foreign commerce and internal improvement, unexampled in its exertions throughout the war, may now expand itſelf with redoubled activity;

 and

and by providing new ſources of ſtrength and wealth for this country, fix the ſtability of our own power, and at the ſame time promote the common intereſts of Europe and of all the civilized nations of the world."

The royal aſſent having been given in the uſual forms, to the bills preſented,

His Majeſty then delivered the following moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne:

" *My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

" The public buſineſs being concluded, I think it proper to cloſe this ſeſſion of parliament.

" During a long and laborious attendance, you have invariably manifeſted the juſt ſenſe you entertain of the great truſt committed to your charge. The objects of your deliberations have been unuſually numerous and important, and I derive the utmoſt ſatisfaction from the conviction, that the wiſdom of your proceedings will be fully proved by their effects, in promoting the beſt intereſts of my people throughout every part of my dominions.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The ample proviſion you have made for the various

various branches of the public ſervice, demands my warmeſt acknowledgments; and my particular thanks are due for the liberality which you have ſhewn in exonerating my civil government and houſehold, from the debts with which they were unavoidably burthened.

"Whilſt I regret the amount of the ſupplies which circumſtances have rendered neceſſary, it is a relief to me to contemplate the ſtate of our manufactures, commerce, and revenue, which afford the moſt deciſive and gratifying proofs of the abundance of our internal reſources, and of the growing proſperity of the country.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"As I think it expedient that the election of a new parliament ſhould take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for diſſolving the preſent, and for calling a new parliament.

"In communicating to you this intention, I cannot ſuppreſs thoſe ſentiments of entire approbation, with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct, ſince I firſt met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our ſituation, required the utmoſt efforts of that wiſdom and fortitude,

titude, which you ſo eminently diſplayed in contending with them, and by which they have been ſo happily ſurmounted. From your judicious and ſalutary meaſures during the laſt year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the ſevereſt diſpenſations of Providence. And it was by the ſpirit and determination which uniformly animated your councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operation of my people, that I was enabled to proſecute with ſucceſs, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous conteſt in which we have been engaged.

"The ſame ſenſe of public duty, the ſame ſolicitude for the welfare of your country, will now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage by all the means in your power the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace.

"My endeavours will never be wanting to preſerve the bleſſings, by which we are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, and to prove that the proſperity and happineſs of all claſſes of my faithful ſubjects, are the objects which are always the neareſt to my heart."

After

After his Majeſty had delivered his ſpeech,

The lord chancellor came forward and addreſſed both houſes to the following effect:

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"It is His Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure that this parliament be prorogued until Tueſday, the 17th day of Auguſt next—and this parliament ſtands prorogued till the ſaid 17th day of Auguſt accordingly."

Thus is cloſed the ſixth and laſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, for chooſing which, the general election was holden in 1796.

In the ſpeaker's addreſs is a ſuccinct retroſpect, and a juſt comment on the political and financial meaſures of government: and in his Majeſty's ſpeech appear ſtrong indications of a mind, that having entered moſt deeply into public diſtreſs, and into various circumſtances affecting his happineſs, was now perfectly relieved from anxiety; and that adequately eſtimated thoſe parliamentary proceedings, which had been inſtrumental in reſtoring to him ſatisfaction and comfort.

Tueſday, June 29.—On this day was ſigned and iſſued a proclamation, by which the parliament

ment then exiſting was diſſolved, and another called.

This event in itſelf implies an epoch, and is the laſt propoſed for mention in this work. The MEMOIRS are thus arrived at a point, where ſeaſonably and properly they may at length terminate. Having therefore firſt expreſſed an earneſt wiſh, that, in the enſuing choice of repreſentatives, the civil qualification of elective ſuffrage may neither be perverted by corruption, nor exerciſed with factious views, nor impeded by tumultuary and violent outrage, repugnant to every idea, and deſtructive to the very exiſtence of genuine liberty: having alſo conceived an ardent hope, that the new, like the late, parliament, will be circumſpect and firm in preſerving our conſtitution, ſo that it may be endangered neither by the ſubtleties of popular artifice, nor by the ſpeculative theories of ſtate-projectors; to ſuch earneſt wiſh and ardent hope for the New Parliament, we will add, as a corollary, this concluſion:

Few, indeed, in number are the months which have thus been engaging our attention; but, though they are few, they have yet been fruitful in events both numerous and intereſting. Of theſe, the naval victory in the baſon of Copenhagen,

hagen, which firſt led to the diſruption of the NorthernConfederacy; and the various conqueſts made by our army in Egypt, which liberated that province, and completely fruſtrated the ſchemes of deep policy conceived immediately againſt Turkey, but ultimately againſt our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt; will ever be memorable. They are alſo tranſactions from which will be imparted no inconſiderable ſhare of praiſe to the preſent Miniſter; for, they are proofs inconteſtible of the promptitude and ſpirit, with which he gave effect to the preconcerted plans of operation by ſea and land; and they are evident demonſtrations of the activity, judgment, and vigour, with which he proſecuted the war, ſo long as war was adviſable. The point, however, which above all others moſt forcibly attracts our notice; the object, on which we juſtly fix our thoughts with the moſt favourable regard; is that ſurpriſingly rapid and moſt ſenſibly felt tranſition, from gloom to cheerfulneſs; from domeſtic preſſure in ſupplying national exigences, to comparative relief; from public apprehenſions, to general ſecurity; from that ſolicitude inſeparably attached to war, a ſolicitude for friends and relations, for armies and fleets, for colonies and native country, to the felicity inſpired by a conſciouſneſs of ſafety and uninterrupted

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terrupted enjoyment during a ſtate of peace. That, under the bleſſing of ALMIGHTY GOD! this change which we have experienced in our families, in our communities, in our kingdoms, has been effected in the adminiſtration of Mr. Addington, cannot poſſibly be denied. Let this fact be duly weighed. Let it then be conſidered, that if the character of every man is beſt known by his words and actions tried, proved, and experienced through a period of arduous difficulties; the language and conduct of Mr. Addington, here compendiouſly recorded, through the firſt fifteen months of his adminiſtration, will ſhew WHETHER HE BE; OR BE NOT; endowed with the moſt laudable and moſt eminent of thoſe talents, which conſtitute ſuch a ſtateſman as Britons will applaud ſo long as they value intellect, ſagacity, fortitude, perſeverance, condeſcenſion, integrity, truly BRITISH PRINCIPLES in government, diſcretion in knowing where to make conceſſion, and firmneſs in maintaining what conviction demonſtrates cannot be yielded with ſafety. And ſince to the inquiry, WHETHER HE BE? OR BE NOT? a ſtateſman of that deſcription, it will not be conſiſtent either with truth of facts, or with candour of judgment, to anſwer in the negative; or to ſay that his talents have not been

aſſiduouſly and beneficially exerted for PUBLIC GOOD; it is an evident conſequence, that as ſervices conferred indiſputably demand of us a proper return, Mr. Addington is entitled to NATIONAL ESTEEM.

FINIS.

Luke Hanſard, Printer,
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